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Vol. IV

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PLUTARCH'S LIVES,

TRANSLATED FROM

THE ORIGINAL GREEK:

WITH

NOTES CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL,

AND

A NEW LIFE OF PLUTARCH.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

BY JOHN LANGHORNE, D.D.
AND
WILLIAM LANGHORNE, M.A.

THE SIXTH EDITION,

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PLUTARCH's LIVES.

AGESILAUS.

ARCHIDAMUS *, the ſon of Xeuxidamus, after having governed the Lacedæmonians with a very reſpectable character, left behind him two ſons; the one named Agis, whom he had by Lampito †, a woman of an illuſtrious family; the other much younger, named Ageſilaus, whom he had by Eupolia, the daughter of Meliſippidas. As the crown, by law, was to deſcend to Agis, Ageſilaus had nothing to expect but a private ſtation, and therefore had a common Lacedæmonian education; which, though hard in reſpect of diet, and full of laborious exerciſes, was well calculated to teach the youth obedience. Hence, Simonides is ſaid to have called that famed city, *the man-ſubduing* Sparta, becauſe it was the principal tendency of her diſcipline to make the citizens obedient and ſubmiſſive to the laws; and ſhe trained her youth as the colt is trained to the menage. The law does not lay the young princes, who are educated for the throne, under the ſame neceſſity. But Ageſilaus was ſingular in this, that before he came to govern, he had learned to obey. Hence it was that he accommodated himſelf with a better grace to his ſubjects than any other of the kings; having added to his princely talents and inclinations a humane manner and popular civility.

While he was yet in one of the claſſes or ſocieties of boys, Lyſander had that honourable attachment to him which the Spartans diſtinguiſh with the name of love.

* Archidamus II.

† Lampito, or Lampido, was ſiſter to Archidamus by the father's ſide. Vid. PLAT. ALCIBIAD.

He was charmed with his ingenuous modesty. For, though he had a spirit above his companions, an ambition to excel, which made him unwilling to sit down without the prize, and a vigour and impetuosity which could not be conquered or borne down, yet he was equally remarkable for his gentleness, where it was necessary to obey. At the same time, it appeared, that his obedience was not owing to fear, but to a principle of honour, and that throughout his whole conduct he dreaded disgrace more than toil.

He was lame of one leg: but that defect, during his youth, was covered by the agreeable turn of the rest of his person; and the easy and cheerful manner in which he bore it, and his being the first to railly himself upon it, always made it the less regarded. Nay, that defect made his spirit of enterprize more remarkable; for he never declined on that account any undertaking, however difficult or laborious.

We have no portrait or statue of him. He would not suffer any to be made while he lived, and at his death he utterly forbade it. We are only told, that he was a little man, and that he had not a commanding aspect. But a perpetual vivacity and cheerfulness, attended with a talent for raillery, which was expressed without any severity either of voice or look, made him more agreeable even in age, than the young and the handsome. Theophrastus tells us, the *Ephori* fined Archidamus for marrying a little woman. "She will bring us," said they, "a race of pygmies, instead of kings."

During the reign of Agis, Alcibiades, upon his quitting Sicily, came an exile to Lacedæmon. And he had not been there long, before he was suspected of a criminal commerce with Timæa, the wife of Agis. Agis would not acknowledge the child which she had for his, but said it was the son of Alcibiades. Duris informs us, that the queen was not displeased at the supposition, and that she used to whisper to her women, the child should be called Alcibiades, not Leotychidas. He adds, that Alcibiades himself scrupled not to say, "He did not approach Timæa to gratify his appetite, but from an ambition to give kings to Sparta." However, he was obliged to fly from Sparta, lest Agis should revenge the injury. And that prince looking upon Leotychidas with an

an eye of ſuſpicion, did not take notice of him as a ſon. Yet, in his laſt ſickneſs, Leotychidas prevailed upon him, by his tears and intreaties, to acknowledge him as ſuch before many witneſſes.

Notwithſtanding this public declaration, Agis was no ſooner dead, than Lyſander, who had vanquiſhed the Athenians at ſea, and had great power and intereſt in Sparta, advanced Ageſilaus to the throne; alleging that Leotychidas was a baſtard, and conſequently had no right to it. Indeed, the generality of the citizens, knowing the virtues of Ageſilaus, and that he had been educated with them in all the ſeverity of the Spartan diſcipline, joined with pleaſure in the ſcheme.

There was then at Sparta a diviner, named Diopithes, well verſed in ancient prophecies, and ſuppoſed an able interpreter of every thing relating to the gods. This man inſiſted, it was contrary to the divine will, that a lame man ſhould ſit on the throne of Sparta; and on the day the point was to be decided, he publicly read this oracle—

> Beware, proud Sparta, leſt a maimed empire *
> Thy boaſted ſtrength impair; far other woes
> Than thou behold'ſt, await thee—borne away
> By the ſtrong tide of war———

Lyſander obſerving upon this, that if the Spartans were ſolicitous to act literally according to the oracle, they ought to beware of Leotychidas. For that heaven did not conſider it as a matter of importance, if the king happened to have a lame foot: The thing to be guarded againſt, was the admiſſion of a perſon who was not a genuine deſcendant of Hercules; for that would make the kingdom itſelf lame. Ageſilaus added, that Neptune had borne witneſs to the baſtardy of Leotychidas, in throwing Agis out of his bed by an earthquake †; ten months after which, and more, Leotychidas was born; though Agis did not cohabit with Timæa during that time.

 By

* The two legs of the Spartan conſtitution were the two kings, which therefore muſt be in a maimed and ruined ſtate when one of them was gone. In fact, the conſequence produced not a juſt and good monarch, but a tyrant.

† See Xenophon, Grecian Hiſt. book iii.

By these ways and means Agesilaus gained the diadem, and at the same time was put in possession of the private estate of Agis; Leotychidas being rejected on account of his illegitimacy. Observing, however, that his relations by the mother's side, though men of merit, were very poor, he gave a moiety of the estate among them; by which means the inheritance procured him respect and honour, instead of envy and aversion.

Xenophon tells us, that by obedience to the laws of his country, Agesilaus gained so much power, that his will was not disputed. The case was this. The principal authority was then in the hands of the *Ephori* and the senate. The *Ephori* were annual magistrates, and the senators had their office for life. They were both appointed as a barrier against the power of the kings, as we have observed in the life of Lycurgus. The kings, therefore, had an old and hereditary antipathy to them, and perpetual disputes subsisted between them. But Lysander took a different course. He gave up all thoughts of opposition and contention, and paid his court to them on every occasion; taking care, in all his enterprizes, to set out under their auspices. If he was called, he went faster than usual: If he was upon his throne, administring justice, he rose up when the *Ephori* approached: If any one of them was admitted a member of the senate, he sent him a robe and an ox *, as marks of honour. Thus, while he seemed to be adding to the dignity and importance of their body, he was privately increasing his own strength, and the authority of the crown, through their support and attachment.

In his conduct with respect to the other citizens, he behaved better as an enemy than as a friend. If he was severe to his enemies, he was not unjustly so; his friends he countenanced even in their unjust pursuits. If his enemies performed any thing extraordinary, he was ashamed not to take honourable notice of it; his friends he could not correct when they did amiss. On the contrary, it was his pleasure to support them, and go the same lengths they did; for he thought no service dishonourable which he did in the way of friendship. Nay, if his adversaries fell into any misfortune, he was the first to sympathize with them, and ready to give them his assistance, if they desired

* Emblems of magistracy and patriotism.

desired it. By these means he gained the hearts of all his people.

The *Ephori* saw this, and, in their fear of his increasing power, imposed a fine upon him; alleging this as the reason, that whereas the citizens ought to be in common, he appropriated them to himself. As the writers upon physics say, that if war and discord were banished the universe, the heavenly bodies would stop thir course, and all generation and motion would cease, by reason of that perfect harmony; so the great Lawgiver infused a spirit of ambition and contention into the Spartan constitution, as an incentive to virtue; and wished always to see some difference and dispute among the good and virtuous. He thought that general complaisance, which leads men to yield to the next proposal, without exploring each other's intentions, and without debating on the consequences, was an inert principle, and deserved not the name of harmony*. Some imagine that Homer saw this; and that he would not have made Agamemnon rejoice †, when Ulysses and Achilles contended in such opprobrious terms, if he had not expected that some great benefit would arise to their affairs in general, from this particular quarrel among the great. This point, however, cannot be agreed to without some exception; for violent dissensions are pernicious to a state, and productive of the greatest dangers.

Agesilaus had not been long seated on the throne, before accounts were brought from Asia, that the king of Persia was preparing a great fleet to dispossess the Lacedæmonians of their dominion of the sea. Lysander was very desirous to be sent again into Asia, that he might support his friends whom he had left governors and masters of the cities, and many of whom, having abused their authority to the purposes of violence and injustice, were banished or put to death by the people. He therefore persuaded Agesilaus to enter Asia with his forces, and fix the seat of war at the greatest distance from Greece, before the Persian could have finished his preparations. At the same time he instructed his friends in Asia, to send deputies to Lacedæmon, to desire Agesilaus might be appointed to that command.

 Agesilaus

* Upon the same principle, we need not be greatly alarmed at party disputes in our own nation. They will not expire but with liberty. And such ferments are often necessary to throw off vicious humours.

† Odssey, lib. viii.

Agesilaus received their proposals in full assembly of the people, and agreed to undertake the war, on condition they would give him thirty Spartans for his officers and counsellors, a select corps of two thousand newly enfranchised *Helots*, and six thousand of the allies. All this was readily decreed, through the influence of Lysander, and Agesilaus sent out with the thirty Spartans. Lysander was soon at the head of the council, not only on account of his reputation and power, but the friendship of Agesilaus, who thought the procuring him this command a greater thing than the raising him to the throne.

While his forces were assembling at Geræstus, he went with his friends to Aulis; and passing the night there, he dreamed that a person addressed him in this manner: "You are sensible that, since Agamemnon, none has "been appointed captain-general of all Greece, but your-"self, the king of Sparta; and you are the only person "who have arrived at that honour. Since, therefore, "you command the same people, and go against the "same enemies with him, as well as take your departure "from the same place, you ought to propitiate the god-"dess with the same sacrifice, which he offered here be-"fore he sailed."

Agesilas at first thought of the sacrifice of Iphigenia, whom her father offered in obedience to the soothsayers. This circumstance, however, did not give him any pain. In the morning he related the vision to his friends, and told them he would honour the goddess with what a superior Being might reasonably be supposed to take pleasure in, and not imitate the savage ignorance of his predecessor. In consequence of which, he crowned a hind with flowers, and delivered his to her own soothsayer, with orders that he should perform the ceremony, and not the person appointed to that office by the Bœotians. The first magistrates of Bœotia, incensed at this innovation, sent their officers to insist that Agesilaus should not sacrifice contrary to the laws and customs of Bœotia. And the officers not only gave him such notice, but threw the thighs of the victim from the altar. Agesilaus was highly offended at this treatment, and departed in great wrath with the Thebans. Nor could he conceive any hopes of success after such an omen; on the contrary, he concluded his

his operations would be incomplete, and his expedition not anſwer the intention.

When he came to Epheſus, the power and intereſt of Lyſander appeared in a very obnoxious light. The gates of that miniſter were continually crowded, and all applications were made to him; as if Ageſilaus had only the name and badges of command, to ſave the forms of law, and Lyſander had in fact the power, and all buſineſs were to paſs through his hands. Indeed, none of the generals who were ſent to Aſia, ever had greater ſway, or were more dreaded than he; none ever ſerved their friends more effectually, or humbled their enemies ſo much. Theſe were things freſh in every one's memory; and when they compared alſo the plain, the mild, and popular behaviour of Ageſilaus, with the ſtern, the ſhort, and authoritative manner of Lyſander, they ſubmitted to the latter entirely, and attended to him alone.

The other Spartans firſt expreſſed their reſentment, becauſe that attention to Lyſander made them appear rather as his miniſters, than as counſellors to the king. Afterwards Ageſilaus himſelf was piqued at it. For, though he had no envy in his nature, or jealouſy of honours paid to merit, yet he was ambitious of glory, and firm in aſſerting his claim to it. Beſides, he was apprehenſive that if any great actions were performed, it would be imputed to Lyſander, on account of the ſuperior light in which he had ſtill been conſidered.

The method he took to obviate it, was this. His firſt ſtep was, to oppoſe the counſels of Lyſander, and to purſue meaſures different from thoſe, for which he was moſt earneſt. Another ſtep was to reject the petitions of all who appeared to apply to him through the intereſt of that miniſter. In matters too, which were brought before the king in a judicial way, thoſe againſt whom Lyſander exerted himſelf, were ſure to gain their cauſe; and they for whom he appeared, could ſcarce eſcape without a fine. As theſe things happened not caſually, but conſtantly and of ſet purpoſe, Lyſander perceived the cauſe, and concealed it not from his friends. He told them, it was on his account they were diſgraced, and deſired them to pay their court to the king, and to thoſe who had greater intereſt with him than himſelf. Theſe proceedings ſeemed invidious, and intended to depreciate the

king: Agesilaus, therefore, to mortify him still more, appointed him his carver: and we are told, he said before a large company, "Now let them go and pay their court "to my carver."

Lysander, unable to bear this last instance of contempt, said, "Agesilaus you know very well how to lessen your "friends." Agesilaus answered, "I know very well "who want to be greater than myself." "But perhaps," "said Lysander, that has rather been so represented to "you, than attempted by me. Place me, however, where "I may serve you, without giving you the least umbrage."

Upon this, Agesilaus appointed him his lieutenant in the Hellespont, where he persuaded Spithridates, a Persian, in the province of Pharnabazus, to come over to the Greeks, with a considerable treasure, and two hundred horse. Yet he retained his resentment, and nourishing the remembrance of the affront he had received, considered how he might deprive the two families of the privilege of giving kings to Sparta*, and open the way to that high station to all the citizens. And it seems that he would have raised great commotions in pursuit of his revenge, if he had not been killed in his expedition into Bœotia. Thus ambitious spirits, when they go beyond certain bounds, do much more harm than good to the community. For if Lysander was to blame, as in fact he was, in indulging an unreasonable avidity of honour, Agesilaus might have known other methods to correct the fault of a man of his character and spirit. But, under the influence of the same passion, the one knew not how to pay proper respect to his general, nor the other how to bear the imperfections of his friend.

At first Tisaphernes was afraid of Agesilaus, and undertook by treaty, that the king would leave the Grecian cities to be governed by their own laws: but afterwards thinking his strength sufficiently increased, he declared war. This was an event very agreeable to Agesilaus. He hoped great things from this expedition†; and he considered it as a circumstance which would reflect

* The Eurytionidæ and the Agidæ.

† He told the Persian ambassadors, "He was much obliged to their "master for the step he had taken, since by the violation of his oath "he had made the gods enemies to Persia, and friends to Greece."

reflect diſhonour upon himſelf, that Xenophon could conduct ten thouſand Greeks from the heart of Aſia to the ſea, and beat the king of Perſia whenever his forces thought proper to engage him; if he at the head of the Lacedæmonians, who were maſters both at ſea and land, could not diſtinguiſh himſelf before the Greeks by ſome great and memorable ſtroke.

To revenge, therefore, the perjury of Tiſaphernes by an artifice which juſtice recommended, he pretended immediately to march into Caria; and when the Barbarian had drawn his forces to that quarter, he turned ſhort, and entered Phrygia. There he took many cities; and made himſelf maſter of immenſe treaſures; by which he ſhewed his friends, that to violate a treaty, is to deſpiſe the gods; whilſt to deceive an enemy is not only juſt but glorious, and the way to add profit to pleaſure: but, as he was inferior in cavalry, and the liver of the victim appeared without a head, he retired to Epheſus, to raiſe that ſort of troops which he wanted. The method he took was, to inſiſt that every man of ſubſtance, if he did not chooſe to ſerve in perſon, ſhould provide a horſe and a man. Many accepted the alternative; and, inſtead of a parcel of indifferent combatants, ſuch as the rich would have made, he ſoon got a numerous and reſpectable cavalry. For thoſe who did not chooſe to ſerve at all, or not to ſerve as horſe, hired others who wanted neither courage nor inclination. In this he profeſſedly imitated Agamemnon, who for a good mare excuſed a daſtardly rich man the ſervice †.

One day he ordered his commiſſaries to ſell the priſoners, but to ſtrip them firſt. Their clothes found many

 purchaſers;

* Ψιλων ὁπλιτων, the preſent corrupt reading, ſhould be altered from a paſſage in the Apophthegms (Ed. St. p. 369.) to δειλων και πλουσιων The paſſage is this—ὡςε ταχυ συνηχθησαν και ἱπποι και ανδρες επιτηδειοι αντι ΔΕΙΛΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΛΟΥΣΙΩΝ.

† Then Menelaus his Podargus brings,
And the fam'd courſer of the king of kings;
Whom rich Echepolus (more rich than brave)
To 'ſcape the wars, to Agamemnon gave,
(Æthe her name) at home to end his days,
Baſe wealth preferring to eternal praiſe. POPE, Il. xxiii.

Thus Scipio, when he went to Africa, ordered the Sicilians either to attend him, or to give him horſes or men.

purchaſers; but as to the priſoners themſelves, their ſkins being ſoft and white, by reaſon of their having lived ſo much within doors, the ſpectators only laughed at them, thinking they would be of no ſervice as ſlaves. Whereupon Ageſilaus, who ſtood by at the auction, ſaid to his troops, "Theſe are the perſons whom ye fight with;" and then pointing to the rich ſpoils, "Thoſe are the things ye fight for."

When the ſeaſon called him into the field again, he gave it out that Lydia was his object. In this he did not deceive Tiſaphernes: that general, deceived himſelf. For, giving no heed to the declarations of Ageſilaus, becauſe he had been impoſed upon by them before, he concluded he would now enter Caria, a country not convenient for cavalry, in which his ſtrength did not lie. Ageſilaus, as he had propoſed, went and ſat down on the plains of Sardis, and Tiſaphernes was forced to march thither in great haſte with ſuccours. The Perſian, as he advanced with his cavalry, cut off a number of the Greeks who were ſcattered up and down for plunder. Ageſilaus, however, conſidered that the enemy's infantry could not yet be come up, whereas he had all his forces about him; and therefore reſolved to give battle immediately. Purſuant to this reſolution, he mixed his light-armed foot with the horſe, and ordered them to advance ſwiftly to the charge, while he was bringing up the heavy-armed troops, which would not be far behind. The barbarians were ſoon put to flight; the Greeks purſued them, took their camp, and killed great numbers.

In conſequence of this ſucceſs, they could pillage the king's country in full ſecurity, and had all the ſatisfaction to ſee Tiſaphernes, a man of abandoned character, and one of the greateſt enemies to their name and nation, properly puniſhed. For the king immediately ſent Tithrauſtes againſt him, who cut off his head. At the ſame time he deſired Ageſilaus to grant him peace, promiſing him large ſums*, on condition that he would evacuate his dominions. Ageſilaus anſwered, "His country was the ſole arbitreſs "of

* He promiſed alſo to reſtore the Greek cities in Aſia to their liberty, on condition that they paid the eſtabliſhed tribute; and he hoped (he ſaid) that this condeſcenſion would perſuade Ageſilaus to accept the peace, and to return home; the rather, becauſe Tiſaphernes, who was guilty of the firſt breach, was puniſhed as he deſerved.

"of peace. For his own part, he rather chose to enrich "his soldiers than himself; and the great honour among "the Greeks, was to carry home spoils, and not presents "from their enemies." Nevertheless, to gratify Tithrastus, for destroying Tisaphernes, the common enemy of the Greeks, he decamped and retired into Phrygia, taking thirty talents of that viceroy to defray the charges of his march.

As he was upon the road, he received the *scytale* from the magistrates of Lacedæmon, which invested him with the command of the navy as well as army; an honour which that city never granted to any one but himself. He was, indeed, (as Theopompus somewhere says) confessedly the greatest and most illustrious man of his time; yet he placed his dignity rather in his virtue than his power. Notwithstanding, there was this flaw in his character: when he had the conduct of the navy given him, he committed that charge to Pisander, when there were other officers of greater age and abilities at hand. Pisander was his wife's brother, and, in compliment to her, he respected that alliance more than the public good.

He took up his own quarters in the province of Pharnabazus, where he not only lived in plenty, but raised considerable subsidies. From thence he proceeded to Paphlagonia, and drew Cotys, the king of that country, into his interest, who had been some time desirous of such a connection, on account of the virtue and honour which marked his character. Spithridates, who was the first person of consequence that came over from Pharnabazus, accompanied Agesilaus in all his expeditions, and took a share in all his dangers. This Spithridates had a son, a handsome youth, for whom Agesilaus had a particular regard, and a beautiful daughter in the flower of her age, whom he married to Cotys. Cotys gave him a thousand horse, and two thousand men draughted from his light-armed troops, and with these he returned to Phrygia.

Agesilaus committed great ravages in that province; but Pharnabazus did not wait to oppose him, or trust his own garrisons. Instead of that, he took his most valuable things with him, and moved from place to place, to avoid a battle. Spithridates, however, watched him so narrowly, that, with the assistance of Herippidas the Spartan,

* Herippidas was at the head of the new council of thirty, sent to Agesilaus the second year of the war.

Spartan, at laſt he made himſelf maſter of his camp, and all his treaſures. Herippidas made it his buſineſs to examine what part of the baggage was ſecreted, and compelled the Barbarians to reſtore it; he looked, indeed, with a keen eye into every thing. This provoked Spithridates to ſuch a degree, that he immediately marched off with the Paphlagonians to Sardis.

There was nothing in the whole war that touched Ageſilaus more nearly than this. Beſide the pain it gave him to think he had loſt Spithridates, and a conſiderable body of men with him, he was aſhamed of a mark of avarice and illiberal meanneſs, from which he had ever ſtudied to keep both himſelf and his country. Theſe were cauſes of uneaſineſs that might be publicly acknowledged; but he had a private, and more ſenſible one, in his attachment to the ſon of Spithridates; though while he was with him, he had made it a point to combat that attachment.

One day Megabates approached to ſalute him, and Ageſilaus declined that mark of his affection. The youth, after this, was more diſtant in his addreſſes. Then Ageſilaus was ſorry for the repulſe he had given him, and pretended to wonder why Megabates kept at ſuch a diſtance. His friends told him, he muſt blame himſelf for rejecting his former application. "He would ſtill," ſaid they, "be glad to pay his moſt obliging reſpects to you; but "take care you do not reject them again." Ageſilaus was ſilent ſome time; and when he had conſidered the thing, he ſaid, "Do not mention it to him. For this "ſecond victory over myſelf gives me more pleaſure, "than I ſhould have in turning all I look upon to gold." This reſolution of his held while Megabates was with him; but he was ſo much affected at his departure, that it is hard to ſay how he would have behaved, if he had found him again.

After this, Pharnabazus deſired a conference with him; and Apollophanes of Cyzicus, at whoſe houſe they had both been entertained, procured an interview. Ageſilaus came firſt to the place appointed, with his friends, and ſat down upon the long graſs under a ſhade, to wait for Pharnabazus. When the Perſian grandee came, his ſervants ſpread ſoft ſkins and beautiful pieces of tapeſtry for him; but, upon ſeeing Ageſilaus ſo ſeated, he was aſhamed to make uſe of them, and placed himſelf careleſsly upon the

graſs in the ſame manner, though his robes were delicate, and of the fineſt colours.

After mutual ſalutations, Pharnabazus opened the conference; and he had juſt cauſe of complaint againſt the Lacedæmonians, after the ſervices he had done them in the Athenian war, and their late ravages in his country; Ageſilaus ſaw the Spartans were at a loſs for an anſwer, and kept their eyes fixed upon the ground; for they knew that Pharnabazus was injured. However, the Spartan general found an anſwer, which was as follows: "While "we were friends to the king of Perſia, we treated him "and his in a friendly manner: now we are enemies, you "can expect nothing from us but hoſtilities. Therefore, "while you, Pharnabazus, chooſe to be a vaſſal to the "king, we wound him through your ſides. Only be a "friend and ally to the Greeks, and ſhake off that vaſſa-"lage, and from that moment you have a right to con-"ſider theſe battalions, theſe arms and ſhips, in ſhort, "all that we are or have, as guardians of your poſſeſſions "and your liberty; without which nothing is great or "deſirable among men *.

Pharnabazus then explained himſelf in theſe terms: "If "the king ſends another lieutenant in my room, I will be "for you; but while he continues me in the government, "I will, to the beſt of my power, repel force with force, "and make repriſals upon you for him." Ageſilaus, charmed with this reply, took his hand, and riſing up with him ſaid, "Heaven grant that with ſuch ſentiments as "theſe, you may be our friend, and not our enemy!"

As Pharnabazus and his company were going away, his ſon, who was behind, ran up to Ageſilaus, and ſaid, with a ſmile, "Sir, I enter with you into the rights of hoſpita-"lity:" At the ſame time he gave him a javelin which he had in his hand. Ageſilaus received it; and delighted with his looks and kind regards, looked about for ſomething handſome to give a youth of his princely appearance in return. His ſecretary Adæus happening to have a horſe with magnificent furniture juſt by, he ordered it to be taken off and given to the young man. Nor did he forget him afterwards. In proceſs of time this Perſian was driven from his

* He added, "However, if we continue at war, I will, for the future, "avoid your territories as much as poſſible, and rather forage and raiſe "contributions in any other province." XEN. Grec. War, b. iv.

his home by his brothers, and forced to take refuge in Peloponnesus. Agesilaus then took him into his protection, and served him on all occasions. The Persian had a favourite in the wrestling-ring at Athens, who wanted to be introduced at the Olympic games; but as he was past the proper age, they did not choose to admit him*. In this case the Persian applied to Agesilaus, who, willing to oblige him in this as well as other things, procured the young man the admission he desired, though not without much difficulty.

Agesilaus, indeed, in other respects, was strictly and inflexibly just; but where a man's friends were concerned, he thought a rigid regard to justice a mere pretence.—There is still extant a short letter of his to Hydrieus the Carian, which is a proof of what we have said. "If Nicias "is innocent, acquit him: If he is not innocent, acquit "him on my account: However, be sure to acquit him."

Such was the general character of Agesilaus as a friend. There were, indeed, times when his attachments gave way to the exigencies of state. Once being obliged to decamp in a hurry, he was leaving a favourite sick behind him. The favourite called after him, and earnestly intreated him to come back; upon which he turned and said, "How little consistent are love and prudence!" This particular we have from Hieronymus the philosopher.

Agesilaus had been now two years at the head of the army, and was become the general subject of discourse in the upper provinces. His wisdom, his disinterestedness, his moderation, was the theme they dwelt upon with pleasure. Whenever he made an excursion, he lodged in the temples most renowned for sanctity: and whereas, on many occasions, we do not choose that men should see what we are about, he was desirous to have the gods inspectors and witnesses of his conduct. Among so many thousands of soldiers as he had, there was scarce one who had a worse or a harder bed than he. He was so fortified against heat and cold, that none was so well prepared as himself for whatever seasons the climate should produce.

The Greeks in Asia never saw a more agreeable spectacle, than when the Persian governors and generals, who had been

* Sometimes boys had a share in these exhibitions, who after a certain age were excluded the lists.

been insufferably elated with power, and had rolled in riches and luxury, humbly submitting and paying their court to a man in a coarse cloak, and, upon one laconic word, conforming to his sentiments, or rather transforming themselves into another shape. Many thought that line of Timotheus applicable on this occasion—

MARS is the god; and Greece reveres not GOLD.

All Asia was now ready to revolt from the Persians. Agesilaus brought the cities under excellent regulations, and settled their police, without putting to death or banishing a single subject. After which he resolved to change the seat of war, and to remove it from the Grecian sea to the heart of Persia; that the king might have to fight for Ecbatana and Susa, instead of sitting at his ease there, to bribe the orators, and hire the states of Greece to destroy each other. But amidst these schemes of his, Epicydidas the Spartan came to acquaint him, that Sparta was involved in a Grecian war, and that the *Ephori* had sent him orders to come home and defend his own country.

Unhappy Greeks! barbarians to each other!

What better name can we give that envy which incited them to conspire and combine for their mutual destruction, at a time when Fortune had taken them upon her wings, and was carrying them against the barbarians; and yet they clipped her wings with their own hands, and brought the war home to themselves, which was happily removed into a foreign country*. I cannot, indeed, agree with Demaratus of Corinth, when he says, those Greeke fell short of a great happiness, who did not live to see Alexander seated on the throne of Darius. But I think the Greeks had just cause for tears, when they considered that they left that to Alexnder and the Macedonians, which might have been effected by the generals whom they slew in the fields of Leuctra, Coronea, Corinth and Arcadia.

However

* That corruption which brought the states of Greece to take Persian gold, undoubtedly deserves censure. Yet we must take leave to observe, that the divisions and jealousies which reigned in Greece were the support of its liberties, and that Persia was not conquered, till nothing but the shadow of these liberties remained. Were there, indeed, a number of little independent states which made justice the constant rule of their conduct to each other, and which would be always ready to unite upon any alarm, from a formidable enemy, they might preserve their liberties inviolate for ever.

However, of all the actions of Agesilaus, there is none which had greater propriety, or was a stronger instance of his obedience to the laws and justice to the public, than his immediate return to Sparta. Hannibal, though his affairs were in a desperate condition, and he was almost beaten out of Italy, made a difficulty of obeying the summons of his countrymen to go and defend them in a war at home. And Alexander made a jest of the information he received, that Agis had fought a battle with Antipater: He said, "It seems, my friends, that while we were conquering Darius here, there was a combat of mice in Arcadia." How happy then was Sparta in the respect which Agesilaus paid her, and in his reverence for the laws! No sooner was the *scytala* brought him, though in the midst of his power and good fortune, than he resigned and abandoned his flourishing prospects, sailed home and left his great work unfinished. Such was the regret his friends as well as allies had for the loss of him, that it was a strong confutation of the saying of Demostratus the Phæacian, "That the Lacedæmonions excelled in public, and the Athenians in private characters." For, though he had great merit as a king and a general, yet still he was a more desirable friend, and an agreeable companion.

As the Persian money had the impressiou of an archer, he said, "He was driven out of Asia by ten thousand of the king's archers*." For the orators of Athens and Thebes having been bribed with so many pieces of money, had excited their countrymen to take up arms against Sparta.

When he had crossed the Hellespont, he marched thro' Thrace without asking leave of any of the barbarians. He only desired to know of each people, "Whether they would have him pass as a friend or as an enemy?" All the rest received him with tokens of friendship, and shewed him all the civilities in their power on his way; but the Trallians†, of whom Xerxes is said to have bought a passage.

* Tithraustes sent Timocrates of Rhodes into Greece with fifty talents, which he distributed at Thebes, Argos, and Corinth; but, according to Xenophon, Athens had no share in that distribution.

† Beside the Trallians in Lydia, there was a people of that name in Illyricum, upon the confines of Thrace and Macedonia. So at least, according to Dacier, Theopompus (ap. Steph.) testifies. One of the MSS. instead of Τραλλεις, gives us Τραχαλεις. In Op. Mor. 373. 21. they are called Τρωαδεις. Possibly it might be the Triballi.

passage, demanded of Agesilaus a hundred talents of silver, and as many women. He answered the messenger ironically, "Why did not they then come to receive them?" At the same time he marched forward, and finding them drawn up to oppose him, he gave them battle, and routed them with great slaughter.

He sent some of his people to put the same question to the king of Macedon, who answered, "I will consider "of it." "Let him consider," said he; "in the mean "time we march." The king, surprised and awed by his spirit, desired him to pass as a friend.

The Thessalians were confederates with the enemies of Sparta, and therefore he laid waste their territories. To the city of Larissa, indeed, he offered his friendship, by his ambassadors, Xenocles and Scytha: but the people seized them and put them in prison. His troops so resented this affront, that they would have had him go and lay siege to the place. Agesilaus, however, was of another mind. He said, "He would not lose one of his am-"bassadors for gaining all Thessaly;" and he afterwards found means to recover them by treaty. Nor are we to wonder that Agesilaus, took this step, since, upon news being brought him that a great battle had been fought near Corinth, in which many brave men were suddenly taken off, but that the loss of the Spartans was small in comparison of that of the enemy, he was not elevated in the least. On the contrary, he said, with a deep sigh, "Un-"happy Greece! why hast thou destroyed so many brave "men with thy own hands, who, had they lived, might "have conquered all the barbarians in the world?"

However, as the Pharsalians attacked and harassed him in his march, he engaged them with five hundred horse, and put them to flight. He was so much pleased with this success, that he erected a trophy under mount Narthacium; and he valued himself the more upon it, because with so small a number of his own training, he had beaten people who reckoned theirs the best cavalry in Greece. Here Diphridas, one of the *Ephori*, met him, and gave him orders to enter Bœotia immediately. And though his intention was to do it afterwards, when he had strengthened his army with some reinforcements, he thought it was not right to disobey the magistrates. He therefore said to those about him, "Now comes the day, for which we were

"called out of Aſia." At the ſame time he ſent for two cohorts from the army near Corinth. And the Lacedæmonians did him the honour to cauſe proclamation to be made at home, that ſuch of the youth as were inclined to go and aſſiſt the king, might give in their names. All the young men in Sparta preſented themſelves for that ſervice; but the magiſtrates ſelected only fifty of the ableſt, and ſent them.

Ageſilaus, having paſſed the ſtraits of Thermopylæ, and traverſed Phocis, which was in friendſhip with the Spartans, entered Bœotia, and encamped upon the plains of Chæronea. He had ſcarce entrenched himſelf, when there happened an eclipſe of the ſun*. At the ſame time he received an account that Piſander was defeated at ſea, and killed, by Pharnabazus and Conon. He was much afflicted with his own loſs, as well as that of the public.—Yet, leſt his army, which was going to give battle, ſhould be diſcouraged at the news, he ordered his meſſengers to give out that Piſander was victorious. Nay, he appeared in public with a chaplet of flowers, returned ſolemn thanks for the pretended ſucceſs, and ſent portions of the ſacrifice to his friends.

When he came up to Coronea†, and was in view of the enemy, he drew up his army. The left wing he gave to the Orchomenians, and took the right himſelf. The Thebans alſo putting themſelves in order of battle, placed themſelves on the right, and the Argives on the left. Xenophon ſays, that this was the moſt furious battle in his time; and he certainly was able to judge, for he fought in it for Ageſilaus, with whom he returned from Aſia.

The firſt charge was neither violent nor laſting: The Thebans ſoon routed the Orchomenians, and Ageſilaus the Argives. But when both parties were informed that their left wings were broken and ready for flight, both haſtened to their relief. At this inſtant Ageſilaus might have ſecured to himſelf the victory without any riſk, if he

* This eclipſe happened on the twenty-ninth of Auguſt, in the third year of the ninety-ſixth olympiad, three hundred and ninety-two years before the Chriſtian æra.

† In the printed text it is *Coronea*, nor have we any various reading. But undoubtedly *Chæronea*, upon the Cephiſus, was the place where the battle was fought; and we muſt not confound it with the battle of Coronea in Theſſaly, fought fifty-three years before.

he would have suffered the Thebans to pafs, and then have charged them in the rear *: But borne along by his fury, and an ambition to difplay his valour, he attacked them in front, in the confidence of beating them upon equal terms. They received him, however, with equal vivacity, and great efforts were exerted in all quarters, efpecially where Agefilaus and his fifty Spartans were engaged. It was a happy circumftance that he had thofe volunteers, and they could not have come more feafonably. For they fought with the moft determined valour, and expofed their perfons to the greateft dangers in his defence; yet they could not prevent his being wounded. He was pierced through his armour in many places with fpears and fwords; and though they formed a ring about him, it was with difficulty they brought him off alive, after having killed numbers of the enemy, and left not a few of their own body dead upon the fpot. At laft finding it impracticable to break the Theban front, they were obliged to have recourfe to a manœuvre which at firft they fcorned. They opened their ranks, and let the Thebans pafs; after which, obferving that they marched in a diforderly manner, they made up again, and took them in flank and rear. They could not, however, break them. The Thebans retreated to Helicon, valuing themfelves much upon the battle, becaufe their part of the army was a full match for the Lacedæmonians.

Agefilaus, though he was much weakened by his wounds, would not retire to his tent, till he had been carried through all his battalions, and had feen the dead borne off upon their arms. Mean time he was informed, that a party of the enemy had taken refuge in the temple of the Itonian Minerva, and he gave orders that they fhould be difmiffed in fafety. Before this temple ftood a trophy, which the Bœotians had formerly erected, when, under the conduct of Sparton, they had defeated the Athenians, and killed their general Tolmides †.

Early next morning, Agefilaus, willing to try whether the Thebans would renew the combat, commanded his men to wear garlands, and the mufic to play, while he reared and adorned a trophy in token of victory. At the fame

* Xenophon gives another turn to the matter; for with him Agefilaus was never wrong.

† In the battle of Coronea.

ſame time the enemy applied to him for leave to carry off their dead; which circumſtance confirmed the victory to him. He, therefore, granted them a truce for that purpoſe, and then cauſed himſelf to be carried to Delphi, where they were celebrating the Pythian games. There he ordered a ſolemn proceſſion in honour of the god, and conſecrated to him the tenth of the ſpoils he had taken in Aſia. The offering amounted to a hundred talents.

Upon his return to Sparta, he was greatly beloved by the citizens, who admired the peculiar temperance of his life. For he did not, like other generals, come changed from a foreign country, nor, in fondneſs for the faſhions he had ſeen there, diſdain thoſe of his own. On the contrary, he ſhewed as much attachment to the Spartan cuſtoms, as thoſe who had never paſſed the Eurotas. He changed not his repaſts, his baths, the equipage of his wife, the ornaments of his armour, or the furniture of his houſe. He ever let his doors remain, which were ſo old that they ſeemed to be thoſe ſet up by Ariſtodemus *. Xenophon alſo aſſures us, that his daughter's carriage was not in the leaſt richer than thoſe of other young ladies. Theſe carriages, called *canathra*, and made uſe of by the virgins in their ſolemn proceſſions, were a kind of wooden chaiſes, made in the form of griffins, or goat-ſtags †. Henophon has not given us the name of this daughter of Ageſilaus: and Dicæarchus is greatly diſſatisfied, that neither her name is preſerved, nor that of the mother of Epaminondas. But we find by ſome Lacedæmonian inſcriptions, that the wife of Ageſilaus was called Cleora, and his daughters Apolia and Prolyta ‡. We ſee alſo at Lacedæmon the ſpear he fought with, which differs not from others.

As he obſerved that many of the citizens valued themſelves upon breeding horſes for the Olympic games, he perſuaded his ſiſter Cyniſca to make an attempt that way, and to try her fortune in the chariot-race in perſon. This he

* Ariſtodemus, the ſon of Hercules, and founder of the royal family of Sparta, flouriſhed eleven hundred years before the Chriſtian æra; ſo that the gates of Ageſilaus's palace, if ſet up by Ariſtodemus, had then ſtood ſeven hundred and eight years.

† In the original τραγελαφων. Cervorum eſt ſpecie tragelaphus barba tantum et armorum villo diſtans. Plin.

‡ *Eupolia* and *Proauga*. Cod. Vulcob.

he did, to ſhew the Greeks that a victory of that kind did not depend upon any extraordinary ſpirit or abilities, but only upon riches and expence.

Xenophon, ſo famed for wiſdom, ſpent much of his time with him, and he treated him with great reſpect. He alſo deſired him to ſend for his ſons, that they might have the benefit of a Spartan education, by which they would gain the beſt knowledge in the world, the knowing how to command, and how to obey.

After the death of Lyſander, he found out a conſpiracy, which that general had formed againſt him immediately after his return from Aſia. And he was inclined to ſhew the public what kind of man Lyſander really was, by expoſing an oration found among his papers, which had been compoſed for him by Cleon of Halicarnaſſus, and was to have been delivered by him to the people, in order to facilitate the innovations he was meditating in the conſtitution. But one of the ſenators having the peruſal of it, and finding it a very plauſible compoſition, adviſed him "not to dig Lyſander out of his grave, but rather to "bury the oration with him." The advice appeared reaſonable, and he ſuppreſſed the paper.

As for the perſons who oppoſed his meaſures moſt, he made no open repriſals upon them; but he found means to employ them as generals or governors. When inveſted with power, they ſoon ſhewed what unworthy and avaricious men they were, and in conſequence were called to account for their proceedings. Then he uſed to aſſiſt them in their diſtreſs, and labour to get them acquitted; by which he made them friends and partizans inſtead of adverſaries; ſo that at laſt he had no oppoſition to contend with. For his royal colleague Ageſipolis *, being the ſon of an exile, very young, and of a mild and modeſt diſpoſition, interfered not much in the affairs of government. Ageſilaus contrived to make him yet more tractable. The two kings, when they were in Sparta, eat at the ſame table. Ageſilaus knew that Ageſipolis was open to the impreſſions of love as well as himſelf, and therefore conſtantly turned the converſation upon ſome amiable young perſon. He even aſſiſted him in his views that way, and brought him at laſt to fix upon the ſame favourite with himſelf. For at Sparta there is nothing criminal in theſe attachments:

* Ageſipolis was the ſon of Pauſanias.

attachments; on the contrary, (as we have obſerved in the life of Lycurgus,) ſuch love is productive of the greateſt modeſty and honour, and its characteriſtic is an ambition to improve the object in virtue.

Ageſilaus, thus powerful in Sparta, had the addreſs to get Teleutias, his brother by the mother's ſide, appointed admiral. After which, he marched againſt Corinth * with his land-forces, and took the long walls: Teleutias aſſiſting his operations by ſea. The Argives, who were then in poſſeſſion of Corinth, were celebrating the Iſthmian Games: and Ageſilaus coming upon them as they were engaged in the ſacrifice, drove them away, and ſeized upon all that they had prepared for the feſtival. The Corinthian exiles who attended him, deſired him to undertake the exhibition, as preſident; but not chooſing that, he ordered them to proceed with the ſolemnity, and ſtayed to guard them. But when he was gone, the Argives celebrated the games over again; and ſome who had gained the prize before, had the ſame good fortune a ſecond time; others who were victorious then, were now in the liſt of the vanquiſhed. Lyſander took the opportunity to remark how great the cowardice of the Argives muſt be, who, while they reckoned the preſidency at thoſe games ſo honourable a privilege, did not dare to riſk a battle for it. He was, indeed, of opinion, that a moderate regard for this ſort of diverſions was beſt, and applied himſelf to embelliſh the choirs and public exerciſes of his own country. When he was at Sparta, he honoured them with his preſence, and ſupported them with great zeal and ſpirit, never miſſing any of the exerciſes of the young men or the virgins. As for other entertainments, ſo much admired by the world, he ſeemed not even to know them.

One day Callipedes, who had acquired great reputation among the Greeks as a tragedian, and was univerſally careſſed, approached and paid his reſpects to him; after which he mixed with a pompous air in his train, expecting he

* There were two expeditions of Ageſilaus againſt Corinth; Plutarch in this place confounds them; whereas Xenophon, in his fourth book, has diſtinguiſhed them very clearly. The enterprize in which Teleutias aſſiſted, did not ſucceed; for Iphicrates, the Athenian general, kept Corinth and its territories from feeling the effects of Ageſilaus's reſentment.

he would take ſome honourable notice of him. At laſt he ſaid, "Do not you know me, Sir?" The king caſting his eyes upon him, anſwered ſlightly, "Are you not Cal-"lipedes the ſtage-player?" Another time, being aſked to go and hear a man who mimicked the nightingale to great perfection, he refuſed, and ſaid, "I have heard the "nightingale herſelf."

Menecrates the phyſician, having ſucceeded in ſome deſperate caſes, got the ſurname of Jupiter. And he was ſo vain of the appellation, that he made uſe of it in a letter to the king. "Menacrates Jupiter to king Ageſilaus, "health." His anſwer began thus: "King Ageſilaus "to Menecrates, his ſenſes."

While he was in the territories of Corinth, he took the temple of Juno: and as he ſtood looking upon the ſoldiers who were carrying off the priſoners and the ſpoils, ambaſſadors came from Thebes with propoſals of peace. He had ever hated the city; and now thinking it neceſſary to expreſs his contempt for it, he pretended not to ſee the ambaſſadors, nor to hear their addreſs, though they were before him. Heaven, however, revenged the affront. Before they were gone, news was brought him, that a battalion of Spartans was cut in pieces by Iphicrates. This was one of the greateſt loſſes his country had ſuſtained for a long time: and beſide being deprived of a number of brave men, there was this farther mortification, that ther heavy-armed ſoldiers were beaten by the light-armed, and Lacedæmonians by mercenaries.

Ageſilaus immediately marched to their aſſiſtance; but finding it too late, he returned to the temple of Juno, and acquainted the Bœotian ambaſſadors that he was ready to give them audience. Glad of the opportunity to return the inſult, they came, but made no mention of the peace. They only deſired a ſafe conduct to Corinth. Ageſilaus, provoked at the demand, anſwered, "If you are deſirous "to ſee your friends in the elevation of ſucceſs, to-morrow "you ſhall do it with all the ſecurity you can deſire." Accordingly, the next day he laid waſte the territories of Corinth, and taking them with him, advanced to the very walls. Thus having ſhewn the ambaſſadors, that the Corinthians did not dare to oppoſe him, he diſmiſſed them: then he collected ſuch of his countrymen as had eſcaped in the late action, and marched to Lacedæmon; taking

taking care every day to move before it was light, and to encamp after it was dark, to prevent the insults of the Arcadians, to whose aversion and envy he was no stranger.

After this, to gratify the Achæans *, he led his forces, along with theirs, into Acarnania, where he made an immense booty, and defeated the Acarnanians in a pitched battle. The Achæans desired him to stay till winter, in order to prevent the enemy from sowing their lands. But he said, "The step he should take, would be the very "reverse; for they would be more afraid of war, when "they had their fields covered with corn." The event justified his opinion. Next year, as soon as an army appeared upon their borders, they made peace with the Achæans.

When Conon and Pharnabazus, with the Persian fleet, had made themselves masters of the sea, they ravaged the coasts of Laconia; and the walls of Athens were rebuilt with the money which Pharnabazus supplied. The Lacedæmonians then thought proper to conclude a peace with the Persians, and sent Antalcidas to make their proposals to Tiribazus. Antalcidas, on this occasion, acted an infamous part to the Greeks in Asia; and delivered up those cities to the king of Persia, for whose liberty Agesilaus had fought. No part of the dishonour, indeed, fell upon Agesilaus. Antalcidas was his enemy, and he hastened the peace by all the means he could devise, because he knew the war contributed to the reputation and power of the man he hated. Nevertheless, when Agesilaus was told, "the Lacedæmonians were turning Medes," he said, "No; the Medes are turning Lacedæmonians." And as some of the Greeks were unwilling to be comprehended in the treaty, he forced them to accept the king's terms, by threatening them with war †.

His

* The Achæans were in possession of Calydon, which before had belonged to the Ætolians. The Acarnanians, now assisted by the Athenians and Bœotians, attempted to make themselves masters of it. But the Achæans applied to the Lacedæmoniana for succours, who employed Agesilaus in that business. XEN. Gr. Hist. book iv.

† The king of Persia's terms were: That the Greek cities in Asia, with the islands of Clazomenæ and Cyprus, should remain to him; that all the other states, small and great, should be left free, excepting only Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros, which, having been from time immemorial subject to the Athenians, should remain so; and that such as refused to embrace the peace, should be compelled to admit it by force of arms. XEN. Aellan. lib. v.

This peace of Antalcidas was made in the year before Christ, 387.

His view in this was, to weaken the Thebans; for it was one of the conditions, that the cities of Bœotia should be free and independent. The subsequent events made the matter very clear. When Phœbidas, in the most unjustifiable manner, had seized the citadel of Cadmea in time of full peace, the Greeks in general expressed their indignation; and many of the Spartans did the same; particularly those who were at variance with Agesilaus. These asked him in an angry tone, "By whose orders Phœbidas "had done so unjust a thing?" hoping to bring the blame upon him. He scrupled not to say, in behalf of Phœbidas, "You should examine the tendency of the action; consider "whether it is advantageous to Sparta. If its nature is "such, it was glorious to do it without any orders." Yet in his discourse he was always magnifying justice, and giving her the first rank among the virtues. "Unsupport-"ed by justice," said he, "valour is good for nothing *; "and, if all men were just, there would be no need of va-"lour." If any one, in the course of conversation, happened to say, "Such is the pleasure of the great king;" he would answer, "How is he greater than I, if he is not "more just?" Which implies a maxim indisputably right, that justice is the royal instrument by which we are to take the different proportions of human excellence.

After the peace was concluded, the king of Persia sent him a letter, whose purport was to propose a private friendship, and the rights of hospitality between them; but he declined it. He said, "The public friendship "was sufficient; and while that lasted, there was no need "of a private one."

Yet he did not regulate his conduct by these honourable sentiments: on the contrary, he was often carried away by his ambition and resentment. Particularly in this affair of the Thebans, he not only screened Phœbidas from punishment, but persuaded the Spartan commonwealth to join in his crime, by holding the Cadmea for themselves, and putting the Theban administration in the hands of Archias and Leontidas, who had betrayed the citadel to Phœbidas.

* This is not the only instance, in which we find it was a maxim among the Lacedæmonians, that a man ought to be strictly just in his private capacity, but that he may take what latitude he pleases in a public one, provided his country is a gainer by it.

Phœbidas. Hence it was natural to ſuſpect, that though Phœbidas was the inſtrument, the deſign was formed by Ageſilaus, and the ſubſequent proceedings confirmed it beyond contradiction. For when the Athenians had expelled the garriſon *, and reſtored the Thebans to their liberty, he declared war againſt the latter for putting to death Archias and Leontidas, whom he called *polemarchs*, but who in fact were tyrants. Cleombrotus †, who upon the death of Ageſipolis ſucceeded to the throne, was ſent with an army into Bœotia. For Ageſilaus, who was now forty years above the age of puberty, and conſequently excuſed from ſervice by law, was very willing to decline this commiſſion. Indeed, as he had lately made war upon the Phliaſians in favour of exiles, he was aſhamed now to appear in arms againſt the Thebans for tyrants.

There was then a Lacedæmonian named Sphodrias, of the party that oppoſed Ageſilaus, lately appointed governor of Theſpiæ. He wanted neither courage nor ambition, but he was governed rather by ſanguine hopes than good ſenſe and prudence. This man, fond of a great name, and reflecting how Phœbidas had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the liſts of fame by his Theban enterprize, was perſuaded it would be a much greater and more glorious performance, if without any directions from his ſuperiors he could ſeize upon the Piræus, and deprive the Athenians of the empire of the ſea, by a ſudden attack at land.

It is ſaid, that this was a train laid for him by Pelopidas and Gelon, firſt magiſtrates in Bœotia ‡. They ſent perſons to him, who pretended to be much in the Spartan intereſt, and who by magnifying him as the only man fit for ſuch an exploit, worked up his ambition till he undertook a thing equally unjuſt and deteſtable with the affair of the Cadmea, but conducted with leſs valour, and attended with leſs ſucceſs. He hoped to have reached the Piræus in the night, but day-light overtook him upon the plains of Thriaſia. And we are told, that ſome light appearing

* See XEN. Grec. Hiſt. l. v. whence it appears that the Cadmea was recovered by the Athenian forces.

† Cleombrotus was the youngeſt ſon of Pauſanias, and brother to Ageſipolis.

‡ They feared the Lacedæmonians were too ſtrong for them, and therefore put Sphodrias upon this act of hoſtility againſt the Athenians, in order to draw them into the quarrel.

appearing to the ſoldiers to ſtream from the temples of Eleuſis, they were ſtruck with a religious horror. Sphodrias himſelf loſt his ſpirit of adventure, when he found his march could no longer be concealed; and having collected ſome trifling booty, he returned with diſgrace to Theſpiæ.

Hereupon, the Athenians ſent deputies to Sparta, to complain of Sphodrias; but they found the magiſtrates had proceeded againſt him without their complaints, and that he was already under a capital proſecution. He had not dared to appear and take his trial; for he dreaded the rage of his countrymen, who were aſhamed of his conduct to the Athenians, and who were willing to reſent the injury as done to themſelves, rather than have it thought that they had joined in ſo flagrant an act of injuſtice.

Sphodrias had a ſon named Cleonymus, young and handſome, and a particular favourite of Archidamus, the ſon of Ageſilaus. Archidamus, as it is natural to ſuppoſe, ſhared in all the uneaſineſs of the young man for his father; but he knew not how to appear openly in his behalf, becauſe Sphodrias had been a ſtrong adverſary to Ageſilaus. However, as Cleonymus applied to him, and intreated him with many tears to intercede with Ageſilaus, as the perſon whom they had moſt reaſon to dread, he undertook the commiſſion. Three or four days paſſed, during which he was reſtrained by a reverential awe from ſpeaking of the matter to his father; but he followed him up and down in ſilence. At laſt when the day of trial was at hand, he ſummoned up courage enough to ſay, Cleonymus was a ſuppliant to him for his father. Ageſilaus, knowing the attachment of his ſon to that youth, did not lay any injunctions upon him againſt it. For Cleonymus, from his infancy, had given hopes that he would one day rank with the worthieſt men in Sparta. Yet he did not give him room to expect any great favour in this caſe: he only ſaid, "He would conſider what "would be the conſiſtent and honourable part for him to "act."

Archidamus, therefore, aſhamed of the inefficacy of his interpoſition, diſcontinued his viſits to Cleonymus, though before he uſed to call upon him many times in a day. Hence the friends of Sphodrias gave up the point for loſt; till an intimate acquaintance of Ageſilaus, named

Etymocles, in a converſation which paſſed between them, diſcovered the ſentiments of that prince. He told him, "He highly diſapproved that attempt of Sphodrias, yet "he looked upon him as a brave man, and was ſenſible "that Sparta had occaſion for ſuch ſoldiers as he." This was the way, indeed, in which Ageſilaus conſtantly ſpoke of the cauſe, in order to oblige his ſon. By this Cleonymus immediately perceived, with how much zeal Archidamus had ſerved him; and the friends of Sphodrias appeared with more courage in his behalf. Ageſilaus was certainly a moſt affectionate father. It is ſaid, when his children were ſmall, he would join in their ſports; and a friend happening to find him one day riding among them upon a ſtick, he deſired him "not to mention it, till he "was a father himſelf."

Sphodrias was acquitted; upon which the Athenians prepared for war. This drew the cenſures of the world upon Ageſilaus, who, to gratify an abſurd and childiſh inclination of his ſon, obſtructed the courſe of juſtice, and brought his country under the reproach of ſuch flagrant offences againſt the Greeks. As he found his colleague Cleombrotus * diſinclined to continue the war with the Thebans, he dropped the excuſe the law furniſhed him with, though he had made uſe of it before, and marched himſelf into Bœotia. The Thebans ſuffered much from his operations, and he felt the ſame from theirs in his turn. So that Antalcidas one day ſeeing him come off wounded, thus addreſſed him: "The Thebans pay you "well for teaching them to fight, when they had neither "inclination nor ſufficient ſkill for it." It is certain the Thebans were at this time much more formidable in the field than they had ever been; after having been trained and exerciſed in ſo many wars with the Lacedæmonians. For the ſame reaſon their ancient ſage, Lycurgus, in one of his three ordinances called *Rhetræ*, forbad them to go to war with the ſame enemy often; namely, to prevent the enemy from learning their art.

The allies of Sparta likewiſe complained of Ageſilaus, "That it was not in any public quarrel, but from an ob- "ſtinate

* Xenophon ſays, the *Ephori* thought Ageſilaus, as a more experienced general, would conduct the war better than Cleombrotus. *Τον υἱον* has nothing to do in the text.

"stinate spirit of private resentment *, that he sought to "destroy the Thebans. For their part, they said, they "were wearing themselves out, without any occasion, by "going in such numbers upon this or that expedition "every year, at the will of a handful of Lacedæmoni-"ans." Hereupon, Agesilaus, desirous to shew them that the number of their warriors was not so great, ordered all the allies to sit down promiscuously on one side, and all the Lacedæmonians on the other. This done, the cryer summoned the trades to stand up one after another; the potters first, and then the braziers, the carpenters, the masons, in short all the mechanics. Almost all the allies rose up to answer in one branch of business or other, but not one of the Lacedæmonians; for they were forbidden to learn or exercise any manual art. Then Agesilaus smiled and said, "You see, my friends, we send more "warriors into the field than you."

When he was come as far as Megara, upon his return from Thebes, as he was going up to the senate-house in the citadel †, he was seized with spasms and an acute pain in his right leg. It swelled immediately, the vessels were distended with blood, and there appeared all the signs of a violent inflammation. A Syracusan physician opened a vein below the ancle; upon which the pain abated; but the blood came so fast, that it was not stopped without great difficulty, nor till he fainted away, and his life was in danger. He was carried to Lacedæmon in a weak condition, and continued a long time incapable of service.

In the mean time the Spartans met with several checks both by sea and land. The most considerable loss was at Leuctra ‡, which was the first pitched battle the Thebans gained against them. Before the last mentioned action, all parties were disposed to peace, and the states of Greece sent

* This private resentment and enmity which Agesilaus entertained against the Thebans, went near to bring ruin both upon himself and his country.

† Xenophon (Hellan. 337, 12 Ed. St.) says, it was as he was going from the temple of Venus to the senate-house.

‡ Some manuscripts have it *Tegyra*; but here is no necessity to alter the received reading; though Palmer insists so much upon it. For that of Leuctra was certainly the first pitched battle in which the Thebans defeated the Athenians; and they effected it at the first career. Besides, it appears from Xenophon, (Hellan. 349, 25.) that Agesilaus was not then recovered of the sickness mentioned in the text.

ſent their deputies to Lacedæmon to treat of it. Among theſe was Epaminondas, who was celebrated for his erudition and philoſophy, but had as yet given no proofs of his capacity for commanding armies. He ſaw the other deputies were awed by the preſence of Ageſilaus, and he was the only one who preſerved a proper dignity and freedom both in his manner and his propoſitions. He made a ſpeech in favour, not only of the Thebans, but of Greece in general; in which he ſhewed that war tended to aggrandiſe Sparta, at the expence of the other ſtates; and inſiſted that the peace ſhould be founded upon juſtice and equality; becauſe then only it would be laſting, when all were put upon an equal footing.

Ageſilaus perceiving that the Greeks liſtened to him with wonder and great attention, aſked him, "Whether "he thought it juſt and equitable that the cities of Bœotia "ſhould be declared free and independent." Epaminondas, with great readineſs and ſpirit, anſwered him with another queſtion, "Do you think it reaſonable that all "the cities of Laconia ſhould be declared independent?" Ageſilaus, incenſed at this anſwer, ſtarted up, and inſiſted upon his declaring peremptorily, "Whether he agreed to "a perfect independence for Bœotia?" and Epaminondas replied as before, "On condition you put Laconia in the "ſame ſtate." Ageſilaus now exaſperated to the laſt degree, and glad of a pretence againſt the Thebans, ſtruck their name out of the treaty, and declared war againſt them upon the ſpot. After the reſt of the deputies had ſigned ſuch points as they could ſettle amicably, he diſmiſſed them; leaving others of a more difficult nature to be decided by the ſword.

As Cleombrotus had then an army in Phocis, the *Ephori* ſent him orders to march againſt the Thebans. At the ſame time they ſent their commiſſaries to aſſemble the allies, who were ill inclined to the war, and conſidered it as a great burthen upon them, though they durſt not contradict or oppoſe the Lacedæmonians. Many inauſpicious ſigns and prodigies appeared, as we have obſerved in the life of Epaminondas; and Protheus * the Spartan oppoſed the

* Protheus propoſed that the Spartans ſhould diſband their army according to their engagement; that all the ſtates ſhould carry their contributions to the temple of Apollo, to be employed only in making war

the war to the utmoſt of his power. But Ageſilaus could not be driven from his purpoſe. He prevailed to have hoſtilities commenced; in hopes, that while the reſt of Greece was in a ſtate of freedom, and in alliance with Sparta, and the Thebans only excepted, he ſhould have an excellent opportunity to chaſtiſe them. That the war was undertaken to gratify his reſentment, rather than upon rational motives, appears from hence: the treaty was concluded at Lacedæmon on the fourteenth of *June*, and the Lacedæmonians were defeated at Leuctra on the fifth of *July*; which was only twenty days after. A thouſand citizens of Lacedæmon were killed there, among whom were their king Cleombrotus and the flower of their army, who fell by his ſide. The beautiful Cleonymus, the ſon of Sphodrias, was of the number: he was ſtruck down three ſeveral times, as he was fighting in defence of his prince, and roſe up as often; and at laſt was killed with his ſword in his hand *.

After the Lacedæmonians had received this unexpected blow, and the Thebans were crowned with more glorious ſucceſs than Greeks had ever boaſted, in a battle with Greeks, the ſpirit and dignity of the vanquiſhed was, notwithſtanding, more to be admired and applauded than that of the conquerors. And indeed, if, as Xenophon ſays, "Men of merit, in their convivial converſations let "fall ſome expreſſions that deſerve to be remarked and "preſerved;

war upon ſuch as ſhould oppoſe the liberty of the cities. This, he ſaid, would give the cauſe the ſanction of Heaven, and the ſtates of Greece would at all times be ready to embark in it. But the Spartans only laughed at this advice; for, as Xenophon adds, "It looked as if the "gods were already urging on the Lacedæmonians to their ruin."

* Epaminondas placed his beſt troops in one wing, and thoſe he leaſt depended on in the other. The former he commanded in perſon; to the latter he gave directions, that, when they found the enemy's charge too heavy, they ſhould retire leiſurely, ſo as to expoſe to them a ſloping front. Cleombrotus and Archidamus advanced to the charge with great vigour; but, as they preſſed on the Theban wing which retired, they gave Epaminondas an opportunity of charging them both in flank and front; which he did with ſo much bravery, that the Spartans began to give way, eſpecially after Cleombrotus was ſlain, whoſe dead body, however, they recovered. At length they were totally defeated, chiefly by the ſkill and conduct of the Theban general. Four thouſand Spartans were killed on the field of battle; whereas the Thebans did not loſe above three hundred. Such was the fatal battle of Leuctra, wherein the Spartans loſt their ſuperiority in Greece, which they had held near five hundred years.

" preserved; certainly the noble behaviour and the ex-" pressions of such persons, when struggling with adver-" sity, claim our notice much more." When the Spartans received the news of the overthrow at Leuctra, it happened that they were celebrating a festival, and the city was full of strangers; for the troops of young men and maidens were at their exercises in the theatre. The *Ephori*, though they immediately perceived that their affairs were ruined, and that they had lost the empire of Greece, would not suffer the sports to break off, nor any of the ceremonies or decorations of the festival to be omitted; but having sent the names of the killed to their respective families, they stayed to see the exercises, the dances, and all other parts of the exhibition concluded *.

Next morning, the names of the killed, and of those who survived the battle, being perfectly ascertained, the fathers and other relations of the dead, appeared in public, and embraced each other with a cheerful air, and a generous pride; while the relations of the survivors shut themselves up, as in time of mourning. And if any one was forced to go out upon business, he shewed all the tokens of sorrow and humiliation both in his speech and countenance. The difference was still more remarkable among the matrons. They who expected to receive their sons alive from the battle, were melancholy and silent; whereas those who had an account that their sons were slain, repaired immediately to the temples to return thanks, and visited each other with all the marks of joy and elevation.

The people, who were now deserted by their allies, and expected that Epaminondas, in the pride of victory, would enter Peloponnesus, called to mind the oracle, which they applied again to the lameness of Agesilaus. The scruples they had on this occasion, discouraged them extremely, and they were afraid the divine displeasure had brought upon

* But where was the merit of all this? What could such a conduct have for its support but either insensibility, or affectation? If they found any reason to rejoice in the glorious deaths of their friends and fellow-citizens, certainly the ruin of the state was an object sufficiently serious to call them from the pursuits of festivity! But, *Ques Jupiter vult perdere prius dementant*: The infatuation of ambition and jealousy drew upon them the Theban war, and it seemed to last upon them, even when they had felt its fatal consequences.

upon them the late calamity, for expelling a ſound man from the throne, and preferring a lame one, in ſpite of the extraordinary warnings Heaven had given them againſt it. Nevertheleſs, in regard of his virtue, his authority, and renown, they looked upon him as the only man who could retrieve their affairs; for, beſide marching under his banners as their prince and general, they applied to him in every internal diſorder of the commonwealth. At preſent they were at a loſs what to do with thoſe who had fled from the battle. The Lacedæmonians call ſuch perſons *treſantas* *. In this caſe they did not chooſe to ſet ſuch marks of diſgrace upon them as the laws directed, becauſe they were ſo numerous and powerful, that there was reaſon to apprehend it might occaſion an inſurrection. For ſuch perſons are not only excluded all offices, but it is infamous to intermarry with them. Any man that meets them is at liberty to ſtrike them. They are obliged to appear in a forlorn manner, and in a vile habit, with patches of divers colours; and to wear their beards half ſhaved and half unſhaved. To put ſo rigid a law as this in execution, at a time when the offenders were ſo numerous, and when the commonwealth had ſo much occaſion for ſoldiers, was both impolitic and dangerous.

In this perplexity they had recourſe to Ageſilaus, and inveſted him with new powers of legiſlation. But he, without making any addition, retrenchment, or change, went into the aſſembly, and told the Lacedæmonians, "The laws ſhould ſleep that day, and reſume their authority the day following, and retain it for ever." By this means he preſerved to the ſtate its laws entire, as well as the obnoxious perſons from infamy. Then, in order to raiſe the youth out of the depreſſion and melancholy under which they laboured, he entered Arcadia at the head of them. He avoided a battle, indeed, with great care, but he took a little town of the Mantineans, and ravaged the flat country. This reſtored Sparta to her ſpirits in ſome degree, and gave her reaſon to hope that ſhe was not abſolutely loſt.

Soon after this, Epaminondas and his allies entered Laconia. His infantry amounted to forty thouſand men, excluſive of the light-armed, and thoſe who, without arms, followed

* That is, *perſons governed by their fears.*

followed only for plunder. For, if the whole were reckoned, there were not fewer than ſeventy thouſand that poured into that country. Full ſix hundred years were elapſed ſince the firſt eſtabliſhment of the Dorians in Lacedæmon, and this was the firſt time, in all that long period, they had ſeen an enemy in their territories; none ever dared to ſet foot in them before. But now a new ſcene of hoſtilities appeared; the confederates advanced without reſiſtance, laying all waſte with fire and ſword, as far as the Eurotas, and the very ſuburbs of Sparta. For, as Theopompus informs us, Ageſilaus would not ſuffer the Lacedæmonians to engage with ſuch an impetuous torrent of war. He contented himſelf with placing his beſt infantry in the middle of the city, and other important poſts; and bore the menaces and inſults of the Thebans, who called him out by name, as the firebrand which had lighted up the war, and bade him fight for his country, upon which he had brought ſo many misfortunes.

Ageſilaus was equally diſturbed at the tumult and diſorder within the city, the outcries of the old men, who moved backwards and forwards, expreſſing their grief and indignation, and the wild behaviour of the women, who were terrified even to madneſs at the ſhouts of the enemy, and the flames which aſcended around them. He was in pain, too, for his reputation. Sparta was a great and powerful ſtate at his acceſſion, and he now ſaw her glory wither, and his own boaſts come to nothing. It ſeems, he had often ſaid, "No Spartan woman ever ſaw the "ſmoak of an enemy's camp." In like manner, when an Athenian diſputed with Antalcidas, on the ſubject of valour, and ſaid, "We have often driven you from the "banks of the Cephiſus," Antalcidas anſwered, "But "we never drove you from the banks of the Eurotas." Near akin to this, was the repartee of a Spartan of leſs note, to a man of Argos, who ſaid, "Many of you ſleep on the "plains of Argos." The Spartan anſwered, "But not "one of you ſleeps on the plains of Lacedæmon."

Some ſay, Antaclidas was then one of the *Ephori*, and that he conveyed his children to Cythera, in fear that Sparta would be taken. As the enemy prepared to paſs the Eurotas, in order to attack the town itſelf, Ageſilaus relinquiſhed the other poſts, and drew up all his forces on an eminence in the middle of the city. It happened that the river

river was much ſwoln with the ſnow which had fallen in great quantities, and the cold was more troubleſome to the Thebans than the rapidity of the current; yet Epaminondas forded it at the head of his infantry. As he was paſſing it, ſomebody pointed him out to Ageſilaus; who, after having viewed him for ſome time, only let fall this expreſſion, "O adventurous man!" All the ambition of Epaminondas was to come to an engagement in the city, and to erect a trophy there; but finding he could not draw down Ageſilaus from the heights, he decamped, and laid waſte the country.

There had long been a diſaffected party in Lacedæmon, and now about two hundred of that party leagued together, and ſeized upon a ſtrong poſt, called the *Iſſorium*, in which ſtood the temple of Diana. The Lacedæmonians wanted to have the place ſtormed immediately: But Ageſilaus, apprehenſive of an inſurrection in their favour, took his cloak and one ſervant with him, and told them aloud, "That they had miſtaken their orders. I did not order "you," ſaid he, "to take poſt here, nor all in any one "place, but ſome there (pointing to another place), and "ſome in other quarters," When they heard this, they were happy in thinking their deſign was not diſcovered; and they came out, and went to ſeveral poſts as he directed them. At the ſame time he lodged another corps in the *Iſſorium*, and took about fifteen of the mutineers, and put them to death in the night.

Soon after this, he diſcovered another, and much greater conſpiracy, of Spartans, who met privately in a houſe belonging to one of them, to conſider of means to change the form of government. It was dangerous either to bring them to a trial in a time of ſo much trouble, or to let their cabals paſs without notice. Ageſilaus, therefore, having conſulted with the *Ephori*, put them to death without the formality of a trial, though no Spartan had ever ſuffered in that manner before.

As many of the neighbouring burghers and of the *Helots* who were enliſted, ſlunk away from the town, and deſerted to the enemy, and this greatly diſcouraged his forces, he ordered his ſervants to go early in the morning to the quarters, and where they found any had deſerted, to hide their arms, that their numbers might not be known.

Hiſtorians

Hiſtorians do not agree as to the time when the Thebans quitted Laconia. Some ſay the winter ſoon forced them to retire; the Arcadians being impatient of a campaign at that ſeaſon, and falling off in a very diſorderly manner: others affirm, that the Thebans ſtayed full three months; in which time they laid waſte almoſt all the country. Theopompus writes, that at the very juncture the governors of Bœotia had ſent them orders to return, there came a Spartan, named Phrixus, on the part of Ageſilaus, and gave them ten talents to leave Laconia. So that, according to him, they not only executed all that they intended, but had money from the enemy to defray the expences of their return. For my part, I cannot conceive how Theopompus came to be acquainted with this particular, which other hiſtorians knew nothing of.

It is univerſally agreed, however, that Ageſilaus ſaved Sparta by controuling his native paſſions of obſtinacy and ambition, and purſuing no meaſures but what were ſafe. He could not, indeed, after the late blow, reſtore her to her former glory and power. As healthy bodies, long accuſtomed to a ſtrict and regular diet, often find one deviation from that regimen fatal, ſo one miſcarriage brought that flouriſhing ſtate to decay. Nor is it to be wondered at. Their conſtitution was admirably formed for peace, for virtue, and harmony; but when they wanted to add to their dominions by force of arms, and to make acquiſitions which Lycurgus thought unneceſſary to their happineſs, they ſplit upon that rock he had warned them to avoid.

Ageſilaus now declined the ſervice on account of his great age. But his ſon Archidamas, having received ſome ſuccours from Dionyſius the Silician tyrant, fought the Arcadians, and gained that which is called *the tearleſs battle;* for he killed great numbers of the enemy, without loſing a man himſelf.

Nothing could afford a greater proof of the weakneſs of Sparta than this victory. Before, it had been ſo common, and ſo natural a thing for Spartans to conquer, that on ſuch occaſions they offered no greater ſacrifice than a cock; the combatants were not elated, nor thoſe who received the tidings of victory overjoyed. Even when that great battle was fought at Mantinea, which Thucydides has ſo well deſcribed, the *Ephori* preſented the perſon who brought

 them

them the first news of their success, with nothing but a mess of meat from the public table. But now, when an account of this battle was brought, and Archidamus approached the town, they were not able to contain themselves. First his father advanced to meet him with tears of joy, and after him the magistrates. Multitudes of old men and of women flocked to the river, stretching out their hands, and blessing the gods, as if Sparta had washed off her late unworthy stains, and seen her glory stream out afresh. Till that hour the men were so much ashamed of the loss they had sustained, that, it is said, they could not even carry it with an unembarrassed countenance to the women.

When Epaminondas re-established Messene, and the ancient inhabitants returned to it from all quarters, the Spartans had not courage to oppose him in the field. But it gave them great concern, and they could not look upon Agesilaus without anger, when they considered that in his reign they had lost a country full as extensive as Laconia, and superior in fertility to all the provinces of Greece; a country whose revenues they had long called their own. For this reason, Agesilaus rejected the peace, which the Thebans offered him; not choosing formally to give up to them, what they were in fact possessed of. But while he was contending for what he could not recover, he was near losing Sparta itself, through the superior generalship of his adversary. The Mantineans had separated again from their alliance with Thebes, and called in the Lacedæmonians to their assistance. Epaminondas being apprised that Agesilaus was upon his march to Mantinea, decamped from Tegea in the night, unknown to the Mantineans, and took a different road to Lacedæmon, from that Agesilaus was upon; so that nothing was more likely than that he would have come upon the city in this defenceless state, and have taken it with ease. But Euthynus, of Thespine, as Callisthenes relates it, or some Cretan, according to Xenophon, informed Agesilaus of the design, who sent a horseman to alarm the city, and not long after entered it himself.

In a little time the Thebans passed the Eurotas, and attacked the town. Agesilaus defended it with a vigour above his years. He saw that this was not the time (as

it had been) for ſafe and cautious meaſures, but rather for the boldeſt and moſt deſperate efforts; inſomuch that the means in which he had never before placed any confidence, or made the leaſt uſe of, ſtaved off the preſent danger, and ſnatched the town out of the hands of Epaminondas. He erected a trophy upon the occaſion, and ſhewed the children and the women how glorioully the Spartans rewarded their country for their education. Archidamus greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf that day, both by his courage and agility, flying through the bye-lanes, to meet the enemy where they preſſed the hardeſt, and every where repulſing them with his little band.

But Iſadus, the ſon of Phœbidas, was the moſt extraordinary and ſtriking ſpectacle, not only to his countrymen, but to the enemy. He was tall and beautiful in his perſon, and juſt growing from a boy into a man, which is the time the human flower has the greateſt charm. He was without either arms or clothes, naked and newly anointed with oil; only he had a ſpear in one hand, and a ſword in the other. In this condition he ruſhed out of his houſe, and having made his way through the combatants, he dealt his deadly blows among the enemy's ranks, ſtriking down every man he engaged with. Yet he received not one wound himſelf; whether it was that Heaven preſerved him in regard to his valour, or whether he appeared to his adverſaries as ſomething more than human. It is ſaid, the *Ephori* honoured him with a chaplet for the great things he had performed, but, at the ſame time, fined him a thouſand drachmas for daring to appear without his armour.

Some days after this, there was another battle before Mantinea. Epaminondas, after having routed the firſt battalions, was very eager in the purſuit; when a Spartan, named Anticrates, turned ſhort, and gave him a wound, with a ſpear, according to Dioſcorides, or, as others ſay, with a ſword. And, indeed, the deſcendants of Anticrates are to this day called *machæriones*, *ſwordſmen*, in Lacedæmon. This action appeared ſo great, and was ſo acceptable to the Spartans, on account of their fear of Epaminondas, that they decreed great honours and rewards to Anticrates, and an exemption from taxes to his poſterity; one

* Diodorus Siculus attributes this action to Grillus, the ſon of Xenophon, who, he ſays, was killed immediately after. But Plutarch's account ſeems better grounded.

one of which, named Callicrates *, now enjoys that privilege.

After this battle, and the death of Epaminondas, the Greeks concluded a peace. But Agefilaus, under pretence that the Meffenians were not a ftate, infifted that they fhould not be comprehended in the treaty. All the reft, however, admitted them to take the oath, as one of the ftates; and the Lacedæmonians withdrew, intending to continue the war, in hopes of recovering Meffenia. Agefilaus could not, therefore, be confidered but as violent and obftinate in his temper, and infatiably fond of hoftilities, fince he took every method to obftruct the general peace, and to protract the war; though at the fame time, through want of money, he was forced to borrow of his friends, and to demand unreafonable fubfidies of the people. This was at a time, too, when he had the faireft opportunity to extricate himfelf from all his diftreffes. Befides, after he had let flip the power, which never before was at fuch a height, loft fo many cities, and feen his country deprived of the fuperiority both at fea and land, fhould he have wrangled about the property and the revenues of Meffene?

He loft ftill more reputation, by taking a command under Tachos, the Ægyptian chief. It was not thought fuitable to one of the greateft characters in Greece, a man who had filled the whole world with his renown, to hire out his perfon, to give his name and his intereft for a pecuniary confideration, and to act as captain of a band of mercenaries, for a barbarian, a rebel againft the king his mafter. Had he, now he was upwards of eighty, and his body full of wounds and fcars, accepted again of the appointment of captain-general, to fight for the liberties of Greece, his ambition, at that time of day, would not have been entirely unexceptionable. For even honourable purfuits muft have their times and feafons to give them a propriety; or rather, propriety, and the avoiding of all extremes, is the characteriftic which diftinguifhes honourable purfuits from the difhonourable. But Agefilaus was not moved by this confideration, nor did he think any public fervice unworthy of him; he thought it much more unbecoming to lead an inactive life at home, and to fit down and wait till death

* Near five hundred years after.

death ſhould ſtrike his blow. He therefore raiſed a body of mercenaries, and fitted out a fleet, with the money which Tachos had ſent him, and then ſet ſail; taking with him thirty Spartans for his counſellors, as formerly.

Upon his arrival in Ægypt, all the great officers of the kingdom came immediately to pay their court to him. Indeed, the name and character of Ageſilaus had raiſed great expectations in the Ægyptians in general, and they crowded to the ſhore to get a ſight of him. But when they beheld no pomp or grandeur of appearance, and ſaw only a little old man, and in as mean attire, ſeated on the graſs by the ſea-ſide, they could not help regarding the thing in a ridiculous light, and obſerving, that this was the very thing repreſented in the fable*, "The mountain had "brought forth a mouſe." They were ſtill more ſurpriſed at his want of politeneſs, when they brought him ſuch preſents as were commonly made to ſtrangers of diſtinction, and he took only the flour, the veal, and the geeſe, and refuſed the paſties, the ſweet-meats, and perfumes; and when they preſſed him to accept them, he ſaid, "They might carry them to the *Helots*." Theophraſtus tells us, he was pleaſed with the *papyrus*, on account of its thin and pliant texture, which made it very proper for chaplets; and, when he left Ægypt, he aſked the king for ſome of it.

Tachos was preparing for the war; and Ageſilaus, upon joining him, was greatly diſappointed to find he had not the command of all the forces given him, but only that of the mercenaries. Chabrias, the Athenian, was admiral: Tachos, however, reſerved to himſelf the chief direction, both at ſea and land. This was the firſt diſagreeable circumſtance that occurred to Ageſilaus; and others ſoon followed. The vanity and inſolence of the Ægyptian gave him great pain, but he was forced to bear them. He conſented to ſail with him againſt the Phœnicians; and, contrary to his dignity and nature, ſubmitted to the Barbarian, till he could find an opportunity to ſhake off his yoke. That opportunity ſoon preſented itſelf. Nectanabis†, couſin to Tachos

* Athenæus makes Tachos ſay this, and Ageſilaus anſwer, "You "will find me a lion by and by."

† Ανεψιος ſignifies either *couſin* or *nephew*. But, according to Diodorus, Nectabanis was the ſon of Tachos.

Tachos, who commanded part of the forces, revolted, and was proclaimed king by the Ægyptians.

In consequence of this, Nectanabis sent ambassadors to Agesilaus, to intreat his assistance. He made the same application to Chabrias, and promised them both great rewards. Tachos was appri●d of these proceeding, and begged of them not to abandon him. Chabrias listened to his request, and endeavoured also to appease the resentment of Agesilaus, and keep him to the cause he had embarked in. Agesilaus answered, "As for you, Chabrias, you came "hither as a volunteer, and, therefore, may act as you "think proper; but I was sent by my country, upon the "application of the Ægyptians, for a general. It would "not then be right to commence hostilities against the "people, to whom I was sent as an assistant, except Sparta "should give me such orders." At the same time he sent some of his officers home, with instructions to accuse Tachos, and to defend the cause of Nectanabis. The two rival kings also applied to the Lacedæmonians; the one as an ancient friend and ally, and the other as one who had a greater regard for Sparta, and would give her more valuable proofs of his attachment.

The Lacedæmonians gave the Ægyptian deputies the hearing, and this public answer, "That they should leave "the business to the care of Agesilaus." But their private instructions to him were, "to do what should appear most "advantageous to Sparta." Agesilaus had no sooner received this order, than he withdrew with his mercenaries, and went over to Nectanabis; covering this strange and scandalous proceeding with the pretence of acting in the best manner for his country*: when that slight veil is taken off, its right name is treachery, and base desertion. It is true, the Lacedæmonians by placing a regard to the advantage of their country, in the first rank of honour and virtue, left themsalves no criterion of justice, but the aggrandisement of Sparta.

Tachos,

* Xenopeon has succeeded well enough in defending Agesilaus with respect to his undertaking the expeditions into Ægypt. He represents him pleased with the hopes of making Tachos some return for his many services to the Lacedæmonians; of restoring, through his means, the Greek cities in Asia to their liberty, and of revenging the ill offices done the Spartans by the king of Persia. But it was in vain for that historian to attempt to exculpate him, with respect to his deserting Tachos, which Plutarch justly treats as an act of treachery.

Tachos, thus abandoned by the mercenaries, took to flight. But, at the ſame time, there roſe up in Mendes another competitor, to diſpute the crown with Nectanabis; and that competitor advanced with a hundred thouſand men, whom he had ſoon aſſembled. Nectanabis, to encourage Ageſilaus, repreſented to him, that though the numbers of the enemy were great, they were only a mixed multitude, and many of them mechanics, who were to be deſpiſed for their utter ignorance of war. "It is not "their numbers," ſaid Ageſilaus, "that I fear, but that "ignorance and inexperience, you mention, which ren- "ders them incapable of being practiſed upon by art or "ſtratagem: for thoſe can only be exerciſed with ſucceſs, "upon ſuch as, having ſkill enough to ſuſpect the deſigns "of their enemy, form ſchemes to countermine him, and, "in the mean time, are caught by new contrivances. "But he who has neither expectation nor ſuſpicion of that "ſort, gives his adverſary no more opportunity, than he "who ſtands ſtill, gives to a wreſtler."

Soon after the adventurer of Mendes ſent perſons to ſound Ageſilaus. This alarmed Nectanabis: and when Ageſilaus adviſed him to give battle immediately, and not to protract the war with men who had ſeen no ſervice, but who, by the advantage of numbers, might draw a line of circumvallation about his trenches, and prevent him in moſt of his operations; then his fears and ſuſpicions increaſed, and put him upon the expedient of retiring into a large and well-fortified town. Ageſilaus could not well digeſt this inſtance of diſtruſt; yet he was aſhamed to change ſides again, and at laſt return without effecting any thing. He therefore followed his ſtandard, and entered the town with him.

However, when the enemy came up, and began to open their trenches, in order to encloſe him, the Ægyptian, afraid of a ſiege, was inclined to come immediately to an engagement; and the Greeks were of his opinion, becauſe there was no great quantity of proviſions in the place. But Ageſilaus oppoſed it; and the Ægyptians, on that account, looked upon him in a worſe light than before, not ſcrupling to call him a traitor to their king. Theſe cenſures he now bore with patience, becauſe he was waiting a favourable moment for putting in execution a deſign he had formed.

The

The deſign was this. The enemy, as we have obſerved, were drawing a deep trench round the walls, with an intent to ſhut up Nectanabis. When they had proceeded ſo far in the work, that the two ends were almoſt ready to meet, as ſoon as night came on, Ageſilaus ordered the Greeks to arm, and then went to the Egyptian, and ſaid, "Now is the time, young man, for you to ſave yourſelf, "which I did not choose to ſpeak of ſooner, leſt it ſhould "be divulged and loſt. The enemy with their own hands "have worked out your ſecurity, by labouring ſo long "upon the trench, that the part which is finiſhed will "prevent our ſuffering by their numbers, and the ſpace "which is left puts it in our power to fight them upon "equal terms. Come on then; now ſhew your courage; "ſally out along with us, with the utmoſt vigour, and "ſave both yourſelf and your army. The enemy will not "dare to ſtand us in front, and our flanks are ſecured by "the trench." Nectanabis now admiring his capacity, put himſelf in the middle of the Greeks and advancing to the charge, eaſily routed all that oppoſed him.

Ageſilaus having thus gained the prince's confidence, availed himſelf once more of the ſame ſtratagem, as a wreſtler ſometimes uſes the ſame ſlight twice in one day. By ſometimes pretending to fly, and ſometimes facing about, he drew the enemy's whole army into a narrow place, encloſed with two ditches that were very deep, and full of water. When he ſaw them thus entangled, he advanced to the charge, with a front equal to theirs, and ſecured by the nature of the ground againſt being ſurrounded. The conſequence was, that they made but little reſiſtance; numbers were killed, and the reſt fled, and were entirely put to the rout.

The Egyptian, thus ſucceſsful in his affairs, and firmly eſtabliſhed in his kingdom, had a grateful ſenſe of the ſervices of Ageſilaus, and preſſed him to ſpend the winter with him. But he haſtened his return to Sparta, on account of the war ſhe had upon her hands at home; for he knew that her finances were low, though, at the ſame time, ſhe found it neceſſary to employ a body of mercenaries. Nectanabis diſmiſſed him with great marks of honour, and, beſides other preſents, furniſhed him with two hundred and thirty talents of ſilver, for the expences of the Grecian war. But, as it was winter, he met with a ſtorm

a ſtorm which drove him upon a deſert ſhore in Africa, called the *Haven of Menelaus*; and there he died, at the age of eighty-four years; of which he had reigned forty-one in Lacedæmon. Above thirty years of that time he made the greateſt figure, both as to reputation and power, being looked upon as commander in chief, and, as it were, king of Greece, till the battle of Leuctra.

It was the cuſtom of the Spartans to bury perſons of ordinary rank in the place where they expired, when they happened to die in a foreign country, but to carry the corpſes of their kings home. And as the attendants of Ageſilaus had not honey to preſerve the body, they embalmed it with melted wax, and ſo conveyed it to Lacedæmon. His ſon Archidamus ſucceeded to the crown, which deſcended in his family to Agis, the fifth from Ageſilaus. This Agis, the third of that name, was aſſaſſinated by Leonidas, for attempting to reſtore the ancient diſcipline of Sparta.

POMPEY.

THE people of Rome appear, from the firſt, to have been affected towards Pompey, much in the ſame manner as Prometheus, in Æſchylus, was towards Hercules, when after that hero had delivered him from his chains, he ſays,

> The ſire I hated, but the ſon I love.

For never did the Romans entertain a ſtronger and more rancrous hatred for any general, than for Strabo the* father of Pompey. While he lived, indeed, they were afraid of his abilities as a ſoldier, for he had great talents for war; but upon his death, which happened by a ſtroke of lightening, they dragged his corpſe from the bier, on the way to the funeral pile, and treated it with the greateſt indignity. On the other hand, no man ever experienced from the ſame Romans an attachment more early begun, more diſintereſted in all the ſtages of his proſperity, or more

* Of the tragedy of *Prometheus releaſed*, from which this line is taken, we have only ſome fragments remaining. Jupiter had chained Prometheus to the rocks of Caucaſus, and Hercules, the ſon of Jupiter releaſed him.

more conſtant and faithful in the decline of his fortune, than Pompey.

The ſole cauſe of their averſion to the father, was his inſatiable avarice; but there were many cauſes of their affection for the ſon; his temperate way of living, his application to martial exerciſes, his eloquent and perſuaſive addreſs, his ſtrict honour and fidelity, and the eaſineſs of acceſs to him upon all occaſions; for no man was ever leſs importunate in aſking favours*, or more gracious in conferring them. When he gave, it was without arrogance, and when he received, it was with dignity.

In his youth he had a very engaging countenance, which ſpoke for him before he opened his lips. Yet that grace of aſpect was not unattended with dignity, and amidſt his youthful bloom there was a venerable and princely air. His hair naturally curled a little before; which, together with the ſhining moiſture and quick turn of his eye †, produced a ſtronger likeneſs of Alexander the Great, than that which appeared in the ſtatues of that prince. So that ſome ſeriouſly gave him the name of Alexander, and he did not refuſe it; others applied it to him by way of ridicule. And Lucius Philippus‡, a man of conſular dignity, as he was one day pleading for him ſaid, "It was no "wonder if Philip was a lover of Alexander."

We are told that Flora, the courtezan, took a pleaſure, in her old age, in ſpeaking of the commerce ſhe had with Pompey; and ſhe uſed to ſay, ſhe could never quit his embraces without giving him a bite. She added, that Geminius, one of Pompey's acquaintance, had a paſſion for her, and gave her much trouble with his ſolicitations. At laſt, ſhe told him, ſhe could not conſent on account of

* Ὡς μηδενος αλυπηρολερον δεηθηναι, μηδε ἡδιον ὑπαργησαι δεομενῳ.

The Latin tranſlator has taken δεηθηναι in a paſſive ſenſe—*cum quidem nemo eſſet, qui vel æquiori animo peti abs ſe aliquid pateretur.* But that is inconſiſtent with the contraſt which immediately follows.

One of the manuſcripts has it, Ὡς μηδενος προλερον—and Dacier appears to have followed it—*car il n'y avoit point d'homme plus reſerve que lui â demander des ſervices.*

† Ὑγρολης ſignifies not only *moiſture*, but *flexibility*. Lucian has ὑγρολης μελων. And των περι τα ομμαλα ῥυθμων υγρολης ſeems more applicable to the latter ſenſe.

‡ Lucius Marcius Philippus, one of the greateſt orators of his time. He was father-in-law to Auguſtus, having married his mother Attia. Horace ſpeaks of him, lib. ep. 7.

of Pompey. Upon which he applied to Pompey for his permiſſion, and he gave it him, but never approached her afterwards, though he ſeemed to retain a regard for her. She bore the loſs of him, not with the ſlight uneaſineſs of a proſtitute, but was long ſick through ſorrow and regret. It is ſaid that Flora was ſo celebrated for her beauty and fine bloom, that when Cæcilius Metellus adorned the temple of Caſtor and Pollux with ſtatues and paintings, he gave her picture a place among them.

Demetrius, one of Pompey's freedmen, who had great intereſt with him, and who died worth four thouſand talents had a wife of irreſiſtible beauty. Pompey, on that account, behaved to her with leſs politeneſs than was natural to him, that he might not appear to be caught by her charms. But though he took his meaſures with ſo much care and caution in this reſpect, he could not eſcape the cenſure of his enemies, who accuſed him of a commerce with married women, and ſaid he often neglected, or gave up, points eſſential to the public, to gratify his miſtreſſes.

As to the ſimplicity of his diet, there is a remarkable ſaying of his upon record. In a great illneſs, when his appetite was almoſt gone, the phyſician ordered him a thruſh. His ſervants, upon inquiry, found there was not one to be had for money, for the ſeaſon was paſt. They were informed, however, that Lucullus had them all the year in his menageries. This being reported to Pompey, he ſaid, "Does Pompey's life depend upon the luxury of "Lucullus?" Then, without any regard to the phyſician, he eat ſomething that was eaſy to be had. But this happened at a later period in life.

While he was very young, and ſerved under his father, who was carrying on the war againſt Cinna*, one Lucius Terentius was his comrade, and they ſlept in the ſame tent. This Terentius, gained by Cinna's money, undertook to aſſaſſinate Pompey, while others ſet fire to the general's tent. Pompey got information of this when he was at ſupper, and it did not put him in the leaſt confuſion. He drank more freely, and careſſed Terentius more than uſual; but when they were to have gone to reſt, he ſtole out

* In the year of Rome 666. And as Pompey was born the ſame year with Cicero, viz. in the year of Rome 647, he muſt, in this war with Cinna, have been nineteen years old.

out of the tent, and went and planted a guard about his father. This done, he waited quietly for the event. Terentius, as ſoon as he thought Pompey was aſleep, drew his ſword, and ſtabbed the coverlets of the bed in many places, imagining that he was in it.

Immediately after this, there was a great mutiny in the camp. The ſoldiers, who hated their general, were determined to go over to the enemy, and began to ſtrike their tents and take up their arms. The general dreading the tumult, did not dare to make his appearance. But Pompey was every where; he begged of them with tears to ſtay, and at laſt threw himſelf upon his face in the gateway. There he lay weeping, and bidding them, if they would go out, tread upon him. Upon this, they were aſhamed to proceed, and all, except eight hundred, returned and reconciled themſelves to their general.

After the death of Strabo, a charge was laid that he had converted the public money to his own uſe, and Pompey, as his heir, was obliged to anſwer it. Upon inquiry, he found that Alexander, one of the enfranchiſed ſlaves, had ſecreted moſt of the money; and he took care to inform the magiſtrates of the particulars. He was accuſed, however, himſelf, of having taken ſome hunting-nets and books out of the ſpoils of Aſculum; and, it is true, his father gave them to him when he took the place; but he loſt them at the return of Cinna to Rome, when that general's creatures broke into, and pillaged his houſe. In this affair he maintained the combat well with his adverſary at the bar, and ſhewed an acuteneſs and firmneſs above his years; which gained him ſo much applauſe, that Antiſtius, the prætor, who had the hearing of the cauſe, conceived an affection for him, and offered him his daughter in marriage. The propoſal accordingly was made to his friends. Pompey accepted it; and the treaty was concluded privately. The people, however, had ſome notion of the thing from the pains which Antiſtius, took for Pompey; and at laſt, when he pronounced the ſentence, in the name of all the judges, by which Pompey was acquitted, the multitude, as it were, upon a ſignal given, broke out in the old marriage acclamation of *Talaſio*.

The origin of the term is ſaid to have been this. When the principal Romans ſeized the daughters of the Sabines, who were come to ſee the games they were celebrating to entrap

entrap them, ſome herdſmen and ſhepherds laid hold of a virgin remarkably tall and handſome; and, leſt ſhe ſhould be taken from them, as they carried her off, they cried all the way they went, *Talaſio*. Talaſius was a young man, univerſally beloved and admired; therefore all who heard them, delighted with the intention, joined in the cry, and accompanied them with plaudits. They tell us, the marriage of Talaſius proved fortunate, and thence all bridegrooms, by way of mirth, were welcomed with that acclamation. This is the moſt probable account I can find of the term *.

Pompey in a little time married Antiſtia; and afterwards repaired to Cinna's camp. But finding ſome unjuſt charges laid againſt him there, he took the firſt private opportunity to withdraw. As he was no where to be found, a rumour prevailed in the army, that Cinna had put the young man to death: Upon which, numbers who hated Cinna, and could no longer bear with his cruelties, attacked his quarters. He fled for his life; and being overtaken by one of the inferior officers, who purſued him with a drawn ſword, he fell upon his knees, and offered him his ring, which was of no ſmall value. The officer anſwered, with great ferocity, "I am not come "to ſign a contract, but to puniſh an impious and lawleſs "tyrant," and then killed him upon the ſpot.

Such was the end of Cinna; after whom Carbo, a tyrant ſtill more ſavage, took the reins of government. It was not long, however, before Sylla returned to Italy, to the great ſatisfaction of moſt of the Romans, who, in their preſent unhappy circumſtances, thought the change of their maſter no ſmall advantage. To ſuch a deſperate ſtate had their calamities brought them, that no longer hoping for liberty, they ſought only the moſt tolerable ſervitude.

At that time Pompey was in the Picene, whither he had retired, partly becauſe he had lands there, but more on account of an old attachment which the cities in that diſtrict had to his family. As he obſerved that the beſt and moſt conſiderable of the citizens left their houſes, and took refuge in Sylla's camp as in a port, he reſolved to do the ſame. At the ſame time he thought it did not become him to go like a fugitive who wanted protection, but rather in a reſpectable manner at the head of an army. He therefore

* See more of this in the life of Romulus.

therefore tried what levies he could make in the Picene*, and the people readily repaired to his ſtandard; rejecting the applications of Carbo. On this occaſion, one Vindius happening to ſay, "Pompey is juſt come from under the "hands of the pedagogue, and all on a ſudden is become "a demagogue among you," they were ſo provoked, that they fell upon him and cut him in pieces.

Thus Pompey, at the age of twenty-three, without a commiſſion from any ſuperior authority, erected himſelf into a general; and having placed his tribunal in the moſt public part of the great city of Auximum, by a formal decree commanded the Ventidii, two brothers who oppoſed him in behalf of Carbo, to depart the city: He enliſted ſoldiers; he appointed tribunes, centurions, and other officers, according to the eſtabliſhed cuſtom. He did the ſame in all the neighbouring cities; for the partiſans of Carbo retired and gave place to him, and the reſt were glad to range themſelves under his banners. So that in a little time he raiſed three complete legions, and furniſhed himſelf with proviſions, beaſts of burthen, carriages; in ſhort, with the whole apparatus of war.

In this form he moved towards Sylla, not by haſty marches, nor as if he wanted to conceal himſelf; for he ſtopped by the way to haraſs the enemy, and attempted to draw off from Carbo, all the parts of Italy through which he paſſed. At laſt, three generals of the oppoſite party, Carinna, Cœlius, and Brutus, came againſt him all at once, not in front, or in one body, but they hemmed him in with their three armies, in hopes to demoliſh him entirely.

Pompey, far from being terrified, aſſembled all his forces, and charged the army of Brutus at the head of his cavalry. The Gauliſh horſe on the enemy's ſide ſuſtained the firſt ſhock; but Pompey attacked the foremoſt of them, who was a man of prodigious ſtrength, and brought him down with a puſh of his ſpear. The reſt immediately fled, and threw the infantry into ſuch diſorder that the whole was ſoon put to flight. This produced ſo great a quarrel among the three generals, that they parted, and took ſeparate routes. In conſequence of which, the cities, concluding that the fears of the enemy had made them part, adopted the intereſts of Pompey,

Not

* Now the March of Ancona.

Not long after, Scipio the conſul advanced to engage him. But before the infantry were near enough to diſcharge their lances, Scipio's ſoldiers ſaluted thoſe of Pompey, and came over to them. Scipio, therefore, was forced to fly. At laſt Carbo ſent a large body of cavalry againſt Pompey, near the river Arſis. He gave them ſo warm a reception, that they were ſoon broken, and in the purſuit drove them upon impracticable ground; ſo that finding it impoſſible to eſcape, they ſurrendered themſelves with their arms and horſes.

Sylla had not yet been informed of theſe tranſactions; but upon the firſt news of Pompey's being engaged with ſo many adverſaries, and ſuch reſpectable generals, he dreaded the conſequence, and marched with all expedition to his aſſiſtance. Pompey having intelligence of his approach, ordered his officers to ſee that the troops were armed and drawn up in ſuch a manner, as to make the handſomeſt and moſt gallant appearance before the commander in chief. For he expected great honours from him, and he obtained greater. Sylla no ſooner ſaw Pompey advancing to meet him, with an army in excellent condition, both as to age and ſize of the men, and the ſpirits which ſucceſs had given them, than he alighted; and upon being ſaluted of courſe by Pompey as *imperator*, he returned his ſalutation with the ſame title: though no one imagined that he would have honoured a young man, not yet admitted into the ſenate, with a title for which he was contending with the Scipios and the Marii. The reſt of his behaviour was as reſpectful as that in the firſt interview. He uſed to riſe up and uncover his head, whenever Pompey came to him; which he was rarely obſerved to do for any other, though he had a number of perſons of diſtinction about him.

Pompey was not elated with theſe honours, On the contrary, when Sylla wanted to ſend him into Gaul, where Metellus had done nothing worthy of the forces under his his direction, he ſaid, "It was not right to take the command from a man who was his ſuperior both in age and "character; but if Metellus ſhould deſire his aſſiſtance in "the conduct of the war, it was at his ſervice." Metellus accepted the propoſal, and wrote to him to come; whereupon he entered Gaul, and not only ſignalized his own valour and capacity, but excited once more the ſpirit of ad-

venture

venture in Metellus, which was almoſt extinguiſhed with age: juſt as braſs in a ſtate of fuſion is ſaid to melt a cold plate, ſooner than fire itſelf. But as it is not uſual, when a champion has diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the liſts, and gained the prize in all the games, to record or to take any notice of the performances of his younger years; ſo the actions of Pompey, in this period, though extraordinary in themſelves, yet being eclipſed by the number and importance of his later expeditions, I ſhall forbear to mention, leſt, by dwelling upon his firſt eſſays, I ſhould not leave myſelf room for thoſe greater and more critical events which mark his character and turn of mind.

After Sylla had made himſelf maſter of Italy, and was declared dictator, he rewarded his principal officers with riches and honours; making them liberal grants of whatever they applied for. But he was moſt ſtruck with the excellent qualities of Pompey, and was perſuaded that he owed more to his ſervices than thoſe of any other man. He therefore reſolved, if poſſible, to take him into his alliance; and, as his wife Metella was perfectly of his opinion, they perſuaded Pompey to divorce Antiſtia, and to marry Æmilia, the daughter-in-law of Sylla, whom Metella had by Scaurus, and who was at that time pregnant by another marriage.

Nothing could be more tyrannical than this new contract. It was ſuitable, indeed, to the times of Sylla, but it ill became the character of Pompey to take Æmilia, pregnant as ſhe was, from another, and bring her into his houſe, and at the ſame time to repudiate Antiſtia, diſtreſſed as ſhe muſt be for a father whom ſhe had lately loſt on account of this cruel huſband. For Antiſtius was killed in the ſenate-houſe, becauſe it was thought his regard for Pompey had attached him to the cauſe of Sylla. And her mother, upon this divorce, laid violent hands upon herſelf. This was an additional ſcene of miſery in that tragical marriage; as was alſo the fate of Æmilia in Pompey's houſe, who died there in child-bed.

Soon after this Sylla received an account that Perpenna had made himſelf maſter of Sicily, where he afforded an aſylum to the party which oppoſed the reigning powers. Carbo was hovering with a fleet about that iſland; Domitius had entered Africa; and many other perſons of great diſtinction, who had eſcaped the fury of the proſcriptions by flight, had taken refuge there. Pom-

pey was ſent againſt them with a conſiderable armament. He ſoon forced Perpenna to quit the iſland; and having recovered the cities, which had been much haraſſed by the armies that were there before his, he behaved to them all with great humanity, except the Mamertines, who were ſeated in Meſſina. That people had refuſed to appear before his tribunal, and to acknowledge his juriſdiction, alleging, that they ſtood excuſed by an ancient privilege granted them by the Romans. He anſwered, "Will you "never have done with citing laws and privileges to men "who wear ſwords?" His behaviour too, to Carbo, in his misfortunes, appeared inhuman. For, if it was neceſſary, as perhaps it was, to put him to death, he ſhould have done it immediately, and then it would have been the work of him that gave orders for it. But, inſtead of that, he cauſed a Roman, who had been honoured with three conſulſhips, to be brought in chains before his tribunal, where he ſat in judgment on him, to the regret of all the ſpectators, and ordered him to be led off to execution. When they were carrying him off, and he beheld the ſword drawn, he was ſo much diſordered at it, that he was forced to beg a moment's reſpite, and a private place for the neceſſities of nature.

Caius Oppius*, the friend of Cæſar, writes, that Pompey likewiſe treated Quintus Valerius with inhumanity.— For, knowing him to be a man of letters, and that few were to be compared to him in point of knowledge, he took him (he ſays) aſide, and after he had walked with him till he had ſatisfied himſelf upon ſeveral points of learning, commanded his ſervants to take him to the block. But we muſt be very cautious how we give credit to Oppius, when he ſpeaks of the friends and enemies of Cæſar. Pompey, indeed, was under the neceſſity of puniſhing the principal enemies of Sylla, particularly when they were taken publicly. But others he ſuffered to eſcape, and even aſſiſted ſome in getting off.

He had reſolved to chaſtiſe the Himereans for attempting to ſupport his enemies, when the orator Sthenis told him, "He would act unjuſtly, if he paſſed by the perſon "that was guilty, and puniſhed the innocent." Pompey aſked

* The ſame who wrote an account of the Spaniſh war. He was alſo a biographer; but his works of that kind are loſt. He was mean enough to write a treatiſe to ſhew that Cæſario was not the ſon of Cæſar.

aſked him, "Who was the guilty perſon," and he anſwered, "I am the man. I perſuaded my friends, and "compelled my enemies, to take the meaſures they did." Pompey delighted with his frank confeſſion and noble ſpirit, forgave him firſt, and afterwards all the people of Himera. Being informed that his ſoldiers committed great diſorders in their excurſions, he ſealed up their ſwords, and if any of them broke the ſeal, he took care to have them puniſhed.

While he was making theſe and other regulations in Sicily, he received a decree of the ſenate, and letters from Sylla, in which he was commanded to croſs over to Africa and to carry on the war with the utmoſt vigour, againſt Domitius, who had aſſembled a much more powerful army than that which Marius carried not long before from Africa to Italy, when he made himſelf maſter of Rome, and of a fugitive became a tyrant. Pompey ſoon finiſhed his preparations for this expedition; and leaving the command in Sicily to Memmius, his ſiſter's huſband, he ſet ſail with a hundred and twenty armed veſſels, and eight hundred ſtoreſhips, laden with proviſions, arms, money, and machines of war. Part of his fleet landed at Utica, and part at Carthage; immediately after which ſeven thouſand of the enemy came over to him; and he had brought with him ſix legions complete.

On his arrival, he met with a whimſical adventure. Some of his ſoldiers, it ſeems, found a treaſure, and ſhared conſiderable ſums. The thing getting air, the reſt of the troops concluded, that the place was full of money, which the Carthaginians had hid there in ſome time of public diſtreſs. Pompey, therefore, could make no uſe of them for ſeveral days, as they were ſearching for treaſures; and he had nothing to do but walk about and amuſe himſelf with the ſight of ſo many thouſands digging and turning up the ground. At laſt, they gave up the point, and bade him lead them wherever he pleaſed, for they were ſufficiently puniſhed for their folly.

Domitius advanced to meet him, and put his troops in order of battle. There happened to be a channel between them, craggy and difficult to paſs. In the morning it began, moreover, to rain, and the wind blew violently; inſomuch that Domitius, not imagining there would be any action that day, ordered his army to retire. But Pompey

pey looked upon this as his opportunity, and he paſſed the defile with the utmoſt expedition. The enemy ſtood upon their defence, but it was in a diſorderly and tumultuous manner, and the reſiſtance they made was neither general nor uniform. Beſides, the wind and rain beat in their faces. The ſtorm incommoded the Romans too, for they could not well diſtinguiſh each other. Nay, Pompey himſelf was in danger of being killed by a ſoldier, who aſked him the word, and received not a ſpeedy anſwer.—At length, however, he routed the enemy with great ſlaughter; not above three thouſand of them eſcaping out of twenty thouſand. The ſoldiers then ſaluted Pompey *imperator*, but he ſaid he would not accept that title while the enemy's camp ſtood untouched: therefore, if they choſe to confer ſuch an honour upon him, they muſt firſt make themſelves maſters of the entrenchments.

At that inſtant they advanced with great fury againſt them. Pompey fought without his helmet, for fear of ſuch an accident as he had juſt eſcaped. The camp was taken, and Domitius ſlain; in conſequence of which, moſt of the cities immediately ſubmitted, and the reſt were taken by aſſault. He took Jarbas, one of the confederates of Domitius priſoner, and beſtowed his crown on Hiempſal. Advancing with the ſame tide of fortune, and while his army had all the ſpirits inſpired by ſucceſs, he entered Numidia, in which he continued his march for ſeveral days, and ſubdued all that came in his way. Thus he revived the terror of the Roman name, which the barbarians had begun to diſregard. Nay he choſe not to leave the ſavage beaſts in the deſerts without giving them a ſpecimen of the Roman valour and ſucceſs. Accordingly he ſpent a few days in hunting lions and elephants. The whole time he paſſed in Africa, they tell us, was not above forty days; in which he defeated the enemy, reduced the whole country, and brought the affairs of its kings under proper regulations, though he was only in his twenty-fourth year.

Upon his return to Utica, he received letters from Sylla, in which he was ordered to ſend home the reſt of his army, and to wait there with one legion only for a ſucceſſor. This gave him a great deal of uneaſineſs, which he kept to himſelf, but the army expreſſed their indignation aloud; inſomuch that when he intreated them to return to Italy, they

they launched out into abusive terms against Sylla, and declared they would never abandon Pompey, or suffer him to trust a tyrant. At first he endeavoured to pacify them with mild representations; and when he found those had no effect, he descended from the tribunal, and retired to his tent in tears. However, they went and took him thence, and placed him again upon the tribunal, where they spent great part of the day; they insisting that he should stay and keep the command, and he in persuading them to obey Sylla's orders, and to form no new faction. At last, seeing no end of their clamours and importunity, he assured them, with an oath, "That he would kill him-"self, if they attempted to force him." And even this hardly brought them to desist.

The first news that Sylla heard was, that Pompey had revolted; upon which he said to his friends, "Then it "is my fate to have to contend with boys in my old-"age." This he said because Marius, who was very young, had brought him into so much trouble and danger. But when he received true information of the affair, and observed that all the people flocked out to receive him, and to conduct him home with marks of great regard, he resolved to exceed them in his regards, if possible. He, therefore, hastened to meet him, and embracing him in the most affectionate manner, saluted him aloud by the firname of *Magnus*, or *the Great*: At the same time he ordered all about him to give him the same appellation. Others say, it was given him by the whole army in Africa, but did not generally obtain till it was authorised by Sylla. It is certain, he was the last to take it himself, and he did not make use of it till a long time after, when he was sent into Spain with the dignity of proconsul against Sertorius. Then he began to write himself in his letters and in all his edicts *Pompey the Great*; for the world was accustomed to the name, and it was no longer invidious. In this respect we may justly admire the wisdom of the ancient Romans, who bestowed on their great men such honourable names and titles, not only for military achievements, but for the great qualities and arts which adorn civil life. Thus the people gave the surname of *Maximus* to Valerius *, for reconciling them to the senate after a violent

* This was Marcus Valerius, the brother of Valerius Publicola, who was dictator.

violent diſſention, and to Fabius Rullus for expelling ſome perſons deſcended of enfranchiſed ſlaves *, who had been admitted into the ſenate on account of their opulent fortunes.

When Pompey arrived at Rome, he demanded a triumph, in which he was oppoſed by Sylla. The latter alleged, "That the laws did not allow that honour to any perſon "who was not either conſul or prætor †. Hence it was, "that the firſt Scipio, when he returned victorious from "greater wars and conflicts with the Carthaginians in "Spain, did not demand a triumph; for he was neither "conſul nor prætor." He added, "That if Pompey, who "was yet little better than a beardleſs youth, and who "was not of age to be admitted into the ſenate, ſhould "enter the city in triumph, it would bring an *odium* both "upon the dictator's power, and thoſe honours of his "friend." Theſe arguments Sylla inſiſted on, to ſhew him he would not allow of his triumph, and that, in caſe he perſiſted, he would chaſtiſe his obſtinacy.

Pompey, not in the leaſt intimidated, bade him conſider, "That more worſhipped the riſing than the ſetting "ſun;" intimating that his power was increaſing, and Sylla's upon the decline. Sylla did not well hear what he ſaid, but perceiving by the looks and geſtures of the company that they were ſtruck with the expreſſion, he aſked what it was. When he was told it, he admired the ſpirit of Pompey, and cried, "Let him triumph! Let "him triumph!"

As Pompey perceived a ſtrong ſpirit of envy and jealouſy on this occaſion, it is ſaid, that to mortify thoſe who gave into it the more, he reſolved to have his chariot drawn by four elephants; for he had brought a number from Africa, which he had taken from the kings of that country. But finding the gate too narrow, he gave up that deſign, and contented himſelf with horſes.

His

* It was not his expelling the deſcendants of enfranchiſed ſlaves the ſenate, nor yet his glorious victories, which procured Fabius the ſurname of Maximus; but his reducing the populace of Rome into four tribes, who before were diſperſed among all the tribes, and by that means had too much influence in elections and other public affairs. Theſe were called *tribus urbanæ*. Liv. ix. 46.

† Livy (Lib. xxxi.) tells us, the ſenate refuſed L. Cornelius Lentulus a triumph, for the ſame reaſon, though they thought his achievements worthy of that honour.

His soldiers, not having obtained all they expected, were inclined to disturb the procession, but he took no pains to satisfy them: he said, "He had rather give up "his triumph, than submit to flatter them." Whereupon, Servilius, one of the most considerable men in Rome, and one who had been most vigorous in opposing the triumph, declared, "He now found Pompey really *the Great*, and "worthy of a triumph."

There is no doubt that he might then have been easily admitted a senator, if he had desired it; but his ambition was to pursue honour in a more uncommon track. It would have been nothing strange, if Pompey had been a senator before the age fixed for it; but it was a very extraordinary instance of honour, to lead up a triumph before he was a senator. And it contributed not a little to gain him the affections of the multitude; the people were delighted to see him, after his triumph, class with the equestrian order.

Sylla was not without uneasiness at finding him advance so fast in reputation and power; yet he could not think of preventing it, till with a high hand, and entirely against his will, Pompey raised Lepidus * to the consulship, by assisting him with all his interest in the election. Then Sylla seeing him conducted home by the people, through the *forum*, thus addressed him: "I see, young "man, you are proud of your victory. And undoubt"edly it was a great and extraordinary thing, by your "management of the people, to obtain for Lepidus, the "worst man in Rome, the return before Catulus, one of "the worthiest and the best. But awake, I charge you, "and be upon your guard. For you have now made "your adversary stronger than yourself."

The displeasure Sylla entertained in his heart against Pompey, appeared most plainly by his will. He left considerable legacies to his friends, and appointed them guardians to his son, but he never once mentioned Pompey. The latter, notwithstanding, bore this with great temper and moderation; and when Lepidus and others opposed his being buried in the *Campus Martius*, and his having the honours of a public funeral, he interposed, and by his presence not only secured, but did honour to the procession.

* Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, who by Pompey's interest was declared consul with Q. Lutatius Catulus, in the year of Rome 675.

Sylla's predictions were verified soon after his death. Lepidus wanted to usurp the authority of a dictator; and his proceedings were not indirect, or veiled with specious pretences. He immediately took up arms, and assembled the disaffected remains of the factions which Sylla could not entirely suppress. As for his colleague Catulus, the uncorrupted part of the senate and people were attached to him, and, in point of prudence and justice, there was not a man in Rome who had a greater character; but he was more able to direct the civil government, than the operations of war. This crisis, therefore, called for Pompey, and he did not deliberate which side he should take. He joined the honest party, and was declared general against Lepidus, who by this time had reduced great part of Italy, and was master of Cisalpine Gaul, where Brutus acted for him with a considerable force.

When Pompey took the field, he easily made his way in other parts, but he lay a long time before Mutina, which was defended by Brutus. Mean while Lepidus advanced by hasty marches to Rome, and sitting down before it, demanded a second consulship. The inhabitants were greatly alarmed at his numbers; but their fears were dissipated by a letter from Pompey, in which he assured them, he had terminated the war without striking a blow. For Brutus, whether he betrayed his army, or they betrayed him, surrendered himself to Pompey; and having a party of horse given him as an escort, retired to a little town upon the Po. Pompey, however, sent Geminius the next day to despatch him; which brought no small stain upon his character. Immediately after Brutus came over to him, he had informed the senate by letter, it was a measure that general had voluntarly adopted; and yet on the morrow he put him to death, and wrote other letters, containing heavy charges against him. This was the father of that Brutus, who, together with Cassius, slew Cæsar. But the son did not resemble the father, either in war or in his death, as appears from the life we have given of him. Lepidus, being soon driven out of Italy, fled into Sardinia, where he died of grief, not in consequence of the ruin of his affairs, but of meeting with a billet, (as we are told) by which he discovered that his wife had dishonoured his bed.

At that time, Sertorius, an officer very different from Lepidus, was in possession of Spain, and not a little formidable to Rome itself; all the remains of the civil wars being collected in him, just as in a dangerous disease all the vicious humours flow to a distempered part. He had already defeated several generals of less distinction, and he was then engaged with Metellus Pius, a man of great character in general, and particularly in war; but age seemed to have abated that vigour, which is necessary for seizing and making the best advantage of critical occasions. On the other hand, nothing could exceed the ardour and expedition with which Sertorius snatched those opportunities from him. He came on in the most daring manner, and more like a captain of banditti, than a commander of regular forces; annoying with ambuscades, and other unforeseen alarms, a champion who proceeded by the common rules, and whose skill lay in the management of heavy armed forces.

At this juncture, Pompey having an army without employment, endeavoured to prevail with the senate to send him to the assistance of Metellus. Mean time, Catulus ordered him to disband his forces; but he found various pretences for remaining in arms in the neighbourhood of Rome; till at last, upon the motion of Lucius Philippus, he obtained the command he wanted. On this occasion, we are told, one of the senators, somewhat surprised at the motion, asked him who made it, whether his meaning was to send out Pompey [*pro consule*] as the representative of a consul? "No," answered he, "but [*pro consulibus*] as the representative of both consuls;" intimating by this the incapacity of the consuls of that year.

When Pompey arrived in Spain, new hopes were excited, as is usual upon the appearance of a new general of reputation; and such of the Spanish nations as were not very firmly attached to Sertorius, began to change their opinions, and to go over to the Romans. Sertorius then expressed himself in a very insolent and contemptuous manner with respect to Pompey: he said, "He should want no other weapons than a rod and ferula to chastise the boy with, were it not that he feared the old woman;" meaning Metellus. But in fact it was Pompey he was afraid of, and on his account he carried on his operations with much greater caution. For Metellus gave into

into a courſe luxury and pleaſure, which no one could have expected, and changed the ſimplicity of a ſoldier's life for a life of pomp and parade. Hence Pompey gained additional honour and intereſt; for he cultivated plainneſs and frugality more than ever; though he had not, in that reſpect, much to correct in himſelf, being naturally ſober and regular in his deſires.

The war appeared in many forms; but nothing touched Pompey ſo nearly as the loſs of Lauron, which Sertorius took before his eyes. Pompey thought he had blocked up the enemy, and ſpoke of it in high terms, when ſuddenly he found himſelf ſurrounded, and being afraid to move, had the mortification to ſee the city laid in aſhes in his preſence. However, in an engagement near Valencia, he defeated Herennius and Perpenna, officers of conſiderable rank, who had taken part with Sertorius, and acted as his lieutenants, and killed above ten thouſand of their men.

Elated with this advantage, he haſtened to attack Sertorius, that Metellus might have no ſhare in the victory. He found him near the river Sucro, and they engaged near the cloſe of day. Both were afraid Metellus ſhould come up; Pompey wanting to fight alone, and Sertorius to have but one general to fight with. The iſſue of the battle was doubtful; one wing in each army being victorious. But of the two generals Sertorius gained the greateſt honour, for he routed the battalions that oppoſed him. As for Pompey, he was attacked on horſeback by one of the enemy's infantry, a man of uncommon ſize. While they were cloſe engaged with their ſwords, the ſtrokes happened to light on each other's hand, but with different ſucceſs; Pompey received only a ſlight wound, and he lopped off the other's hand. Numbers then fell upon Pompey, for his troops in that quarter were already broken; but he eſcaped beyond all expectation, by quitting his horſe, with gold trappings and other valuable furniture, to the barbarians, who quarrelled and came to blows about dividing the ſpoil.

Next morning at break of day, both drew up again, to give the finiſhing ſtroke to the victory, to which both laid claim. But, upon Metellus coming up, Sertorius retired, and his army diſperſed. Nothing was more common than for his forces to diſperſe in that manner, and afterwards to knit again; ſo that Sertorius was often ſeen

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wandering alone, and as often advancing again at the head of a hundred and fifty thousand men, like a torrent swelled with sudden rains.

After the battle, Pompey went to wait on Metellus; and, upon approaching him, he ordered his *lictors* to lower the *fasces*, by way of compliment to Metellus, as his superior. But Metellus would not suffer it; and, indeed, in all respects he behaved to Pompey with great politeness, taking nothing upon him on account of his consular dignity, or his being the older man, except to give the word, when they encamped together. And very often they had separate camps; for the enemy, by his artful and various measures, by making his appearance at different places almost at the same instant, and by drawing them from one action to another, obliged them to divide. He cut off their provisions, he laid waste the country, he made himself master of the sea; the consequence of which was, that they were both forced to quit their own provinces, and to go into those of others for supplies.

Pompey, having exhausted most of his own fortune in support of the war, applied to the senate for money to pay the troops, declaring he would return with his army to Italy, if they did not send it him. Lucullus, who was then consul, though he was upon ill terms with Pompey, took care to furnish him with the money as soon as possible; because he wanted to be employed himself in the Mithridatic war, and he was afraid to give Pompey a pretext to leave Sertorius, and to solicit the command against Mithridates, which was a more honourable, and yet appeared a less difficult commission.

Mean time Sertorius was assassinated by his own officers *; and Perpenna, who was at the head of the conspirators, undertook to supply his place. He had, indeed, the same troops, the same magazines and supplies, but he had not the same understanding to make a proper use of them. Pompey immediately took the field, and having intelligence that Perpenna was greatly embarrassed as to the measures he should take, he threw out ten cohorts as a bait for him, with orders to spread themselves over the plain,

* It was three years after the consulate of Lucullus, that Sertorius was assassinated.

plain. When he found it took, and that Perpenna was busied in the pursuit of that handful of men, he suddenly made his appearance with the main body, attacked the enemy, and routed him entirely. Most of the officers fell in the battle; Perpenna himself was taken prisoner, and brought to Pompey, who commanded him to be put to death. Nevertheless, Pompey is not to be accused of ingratitude nor are we to suppose him (as some will have it), forgetful of the services he had received from that officer in Sicily. On the contrary, he acted with a wisdom and dignity of mind that proved very salutary to the public. Perpenna having got the papers of Sertorius into his hands, shewed letters by which some of the most powerful men in Rome, who were desirous to raise new commotions, and overturn the establishment, had invited Sertorius into Italy. But Pompey fearing those letters might excite greater wars than that he was then finishing, put Perpenna to death, and burnt the papers without reading them. He stayed just long enough in Spain to compose the troubles, and to remove such uneasinesses as might tend to break the peace; after which he marchud back to Italy, where he arrived, as fortune would have it, when the *Servile* war was at the height.

Crassus, who had the command in that war, upon the arrival of Pompey, who, he feared, might snatch the laurels out of his hand, resolved to come to a battle, however hazardous it might prove. He succeeded, and killed twelve thousand three hundred of the enemy. Yet fortune, in some sort, interweaved this with the honours of Pompey; for he killed five thousand of the slaves, whom he fell in with as they fled after the battle. Immediately upon this, to be beforehand with Crassus, he wrote to the senate, "That Crassus had beaten the gladiators in a "pitched battle, but that it was *he* who had cut up the "war by the roots." The Romans took a pleasure in speaking of this one among another, on account of their regard for Pompey; which was such, that no part of the success in Spain, against Sertorius, was ascribed by a man of them, either in jest or earnest, to any but Pompey.

Yet these honours and this high veneration for the man, were mixed with some fears and jealousies that he would not disband his army, but, treading in the steps of Sylla, raise himself by the sword to sovereign power, and main-

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tain himſelf in it, as Sylla had done *. Hence, the number of thoſe that went out of fear to meet him, and congratulate him on his return, was equal to that of thoſe who went out of love. But when he had removed this ſuſpicion, by declaring that he would diſmiſs his troops immediately after the triumph, there remained only one more ſubject for envious tongues; which was, that he paid more attention to the commons than to the ſenate; and whereas Sylla had deſtroyed the authority of the tribunes, he was determined to re-eſtabliſh it, in order to gain the affections of the people. This was true: For there never was any thing they had ſo much ſet their hearts upon, or longed for ſo extravagantly, as to ſee the tribunitial power, put in their hands again. So that Pompey looked upon it as a peculiar happineſs, that he had an opportunity to bring that affair about; knowing that if any one ſhould be before hand with him in this deſign, he ſhould never find any means of making ſo agreeable a return for the kind regards of the people.

A ſecond triumph was decreed him †, together with the conſulſhip. But theſe were not conſidered as the moſt extraordinary inſtances of his power. The ſtrongeſt proof of his greatneſs was, that Craſſus, the richeſt, the moſt eloquent, and moſt powerful man in the adminiſtration, who uſed to look down upon Pompey and all the world, did not venture to ſolicit the conſulſhip without firſt aſking Pompey's leave. Pompey, who had long wiſhed for an opportunity to lay an obligation upon him, received the

* Cicero, in his epiſtles to Atticus, ſays, Pompey made but little ſecret of this unjuſtifiable ambition. The paſſages are remarkable. *Mirandum enim in modum Cneius noſter Syllani regni ſimilitudinem concupivit:* Ειδως σοι λεγω, *nihil ille unquam minus obſcure tulit.* Lib. vii. ep. 9. "Our friend Pompey is wonderfully deſirous of obtaining a power like "that of Sylla; I tell you no more than what I know, for he makes "no ſecret of it." And again, *Hoc turpe Cneius noſter biennio ante cogitavit; ita Sylla turit animus ejus, et proſcripturit.* Ibid. ep. 10. "Pompey "has been forming this infamous deſign for theſe two years paſt; ſo "ſtrongly is he bent upon imitating Sylla, and proſcribing like him." Hence we ſee how happy it was for Rome, that in the civil wars, Cæſar, and not Pompey, proved the conqueror.

† He triumphed towards the end of the year of Rome 682, and at the ſame time was declared conſul for the year enſuing. This was a peculiar honour, to gain the conſulate without firſt bearing the ſubordinate offices; but his two triumphs, and great ſervices, excuſed that deviation from the common rules.

the application with pleaſure, and made great intereſt with the people in his behalf; declaring he ſhould take their giving him Craſſus for a colleague, as kindly as their favour to himſelf.

Yet when they were elected conſuls, they diſagreed in every thing, and were embroiled in all their meaſures. Craſſus had moſt intereſt with the ſenate, and Pompey with the people. For he had reſtored them the tribunitial power, and had ſuffered a law to be made, that judges ſhould again be appointed out of the equeſtrian order *. However, the moſt agreeable ſpectacle of all to the people was Pompey himſelf, when he went to claim his exemption from ſerving in the wars. It was the cuſtom for a Roman knight, when he had ſerved the time ordered by law, to lead his horſe into the *forum*, before the two magiſtrates called cenſors; and after having given account of the generals and other officers under whom he had made his campaigns, and of his own actions in them, to demand his diſcharge. On theſe occaſions they received proper marks of honour or diſgrace, according to their behaviour.

Gellius and Lentulus were then cenſors, and had taken their ſeats in a manner that became their dignity, to review the whole equeſtrian order, when Pompey was ſeen at a diſtance with all the badges of his office, as conſul, leading his horſe by the bridle. As ſoon as he was near enough to be obſerved by the cenſors, he ordered his *lictors* to make an opening, and advanced, with his horſe in hand, to the foot of the tribunal. The people were ſtruck with admiration, and a profound ſilence took place; at the ſame time a joy, mingled with reverence, was viſible in the countenances of the cenſors. The ſenior cenſor then addreſſed him as follows: "Pompey the Great, "I demand of you, whether you have ſerved all the campaigns required by law?" He anſwered with a loud voice, "I have ſerved them all; and all under myſelf, as "general." The people were ſo charmed with this anſwer, that there was no end of their acclamations: At laſt, the cenſors roſe up, and conducted Pompey to his houſe, to

* L. Aurelius Cotta carried that point when he was prætor; and Plutarch ſays *again*, becauſe Caius Gracchus had conveyed that privilege to the knights fifty years before.

to indulge the multitude, who followed him with the loudeſt plaudits.

When the end of the conſulſhip approached, and his difference with Craſſus was increaſing daily, Caius Aurelius,* a man who was of the equeſtrian order, but had never intermeddled with ſtate affairs, one day, when the people were met in full aſſembly, aſcended the *roſtra,* and ſaid, "Jupiter had appeared to him in a dream, and commanded him to acquaint the conſuls, that they muſt take care to be reconciled before they laid down their office." Pompey ſtood ſtill, and held his peace; but Craſſus went and gave him his hand, and ſaluted him in a friendly manner. At the ſame time he addreſſed the people, as follows: "I think, my fellow-citizens, there is nothing diſhonourable or mean in making the firſt advances to Pompey, whom you ſcrupled not to dignify with the name of *the Great*, when he was yet but a beardleſs youth, and for whom you voted two triumphs before he was a ſenator." Thus reconciled, they laid down the conſulſhip.

Craſſus continued his former manner of life; but Pompey now ſeldom choſe to plead the cauſes of thoſe that applied to him, and by degrees he left the bar. Indeed, he ſeldom appeared in public, and when he did, it was always with a great train of friends and attendants; ſo that it was not eaſy either to ſpeak to him or ſee him, but in the midſt of a crowd. He took pleaſure in having a number of retainers about him, becauſe he thought it gave him an air of greatneſs and majeſty, and he was perſuaded that dignity ſhould be kept from being ſoiled by the familiarity, and indeed by the very touch of the many. For thoſe who are raiſed to greatneſs by arms, and know not how to deſcend again to the equality required in a republic, are very liable to fall into contempt when they reſume the robe of peace. The ſoldier is deſirous to preſerve the rank in the *forum* which he had in the field; and he who cannot diſtinguiſh himſelf in the field, thinks it intolerable to give place in the adminiſtration too. When therefore the latter has got the man who ſhone in camps and triumphs, into the aſſemblies at home, and finds him attempting to maintain the ſame pre-eminence there, of courſe

* Ovatius Aurelius.

courſe he endeavours to humble him; whereas, if the warrior pretends not to take the lead in domeſtic councils, he is readily allowed the palm of military glory. This ſoon appeared from the ſubſequent events.

The power of the pirates had its foundation in Cilicia. Their progreſs was the more dangerous, becauſe at firſt it was little taken notice of. In the Mithridatic war they aſſumed new confidence and courage, on account of ſome ſervices they had rendered the king. After this, the Romans being engaged in civil wars at the very gates of their capital, the ſea was left unguarded, and the pirates by degrees attempted higher things; they not only attacked ſhips, but iſlands and maritime towns. Many perſons, diſtinguiſhed for their wealth, their birth, and their capacity, embarked with them, and aſſiſted in their depredations, as if their employment had been worthy the ambition of men of honour. They had in various places arſenals, ports, and watch-towers, all ſtrongly fortified. Their fleets were not only extremely well-manned, ſupplied with ſkilful pilots, and fitted for their buſineſs by their lightneſs and celerity; but there was a parade of vanity about them more mortifying than their ſtrength, in gilded ſterns, purple canopies, and plated oars; as if they took a pride and triumphed in their villainy. Muſic reſounded, and drunken revels were exhibited on every coaſt. Here generals were made priſoners; there the cities the pirates had taken were paying their ranſom; all to the great diſgrace of the Roman power. The number of their galleys amounted to a thouſand, and the cities they were maſters of, to four hundred.

Temples, which had ſtood inviolably ſacred till that time, they plundered. They ruined the temple of Apollo at Claros, that, where he was worſhipped, under the title of Didymæus *, that of the Cabiri in Samothrace, that of Ceres † at Hermiona, that of Æſculapius at Epidaurus, thoſe of Neptune in the Iſthmus, at Tænarus and in Calauria, thoſe of Apollo at Actium and in the iſle of Leucas, thoſe

* So called from Didyme, in the territories of Miletus.

† Pauſanias *(in Laconic.)* tells us the Lacedæmonians worſhip Ceres under the name of *Chthonia*: and *(in Corinthiac.)* he gives us the reaſon of her having that name. "The Argives ſay, that Chthonia, the daughter of Colontas, having been ſaved out of a conflagration by Ceres, and conveyed to Hermione, built a temple to that goddeſs, who was worſhipped there under the name of Chthonia."

those of Juno at Samos, Argos, and the promontory of Lacinium *.

They likewise offered strange sacrifices; those of Olympus I mean †; and they celebrated certain secret mysteries, among which those of Mithra continue to this day ‡, being originally instituted by them. They not only insulted the Romans at sea, but infested the great roads, and plundered the villas near the coast: They carried off Sextilius and Bellinus, two prætors, in their purple robes, with all their servants and *lictors*. They seized the daughter of Antony, a man who had been honoured with a triumph, as she was going to her country-house, and he was forced to pay a large ransom for her.

But the most contemptuous circumstance of all was, that when they had taken a prisoner, and he cried out that he was a Roman, and told them his name, they pretended to be struck with terror, smote their thighs, and fell upon their knees to ask him pardon. The poor man seeing them thus humble themselves before him, thought them in earnest, and said he would forgive them; for some were so officious as to put on his shoes, and others to help him on with his gown, that his quality might no more be mistaken. When they had carried on this farce, and enjoyed it for some time, they let a ladder down into the sea, and bade him go in peace; and, if he refused to do it, they pushed him off the deck, and drowned him.

Their power extended over the whole Tuscan sea, so that the Romans found their trade and navigation entirely cut off. The consequence of which was, that their markets were not supplied, and they had reason to apprehend a famine. This, at last, put them upon sending Pompey to clear the sea of Pirates. Gabinius, one of Pompey's intimate friends, proposed the decree ‖, which created him, not

* The printed text gives us the erroneous reading of *Leucanium*, but two manuscripts gives us *Lacinium*. Livy often mentions Juno *Lacinia*.

† Not on mount Olympus, but in the city of Olympus, near Phaselis in Pamphylia, which was one of the receptacles of the pirates. What sort of sacrifices they used to offer there is not known.

‡ According to Herodotus, the Persians worshipped Venus under the name of Mithres, or Mithra; but the sun is worshipped in that country.

‖ This law was made in the year of Rome 686. The crafty tribune, when he proposed it, did not name Pompey. Pompey was now in the thirty-ninth year of his age. His friend Gabinius, as appears from Cicero, was a man of infamous character.

not admiral, but monarch, and invested him with absolute power. The decree gave him the empire of the sea as far as the pillars of Hercules, and of the land for four hundred furlongs from the coasts. There were few parts of the Roman empire which this commission did not take in; and the most considerable of the barbarous nations, and most powerful kings, were moreover comprehended in it. Beside this, he was impowered to choose out of the senators fifteen lieutenants, to act under him, in such districts, and with such authority as he should appoint. He was to take from the quæstors, and other public receivers, what money he pleased, and equip a fleet of two hundred sail. The number of marine forces, of mariners and rowers, was left entirely to his discretion.

When this decree was read in the assembly, the people received it with inconceivable pleasure. The most respectable part of the senate saw, indeed, that such an absolute and unlimited power was above envy, but they considered it as a real object of fear. They therefore all, except Cæsar, opposed its passing into a law. He was for it, not out of regard for Pompey, but to insinuate himself into the good graces of the people, which he had long been courting. The rest were very severe in their expressions against Pompey; and one of the consuls venturing to say*, "If "he imitates Romulus, he will not escape his fate," was in danger of being pulled in pieces by the populace.

It is true, when Catulus rose up to speak against the law, out of reverence for his person they listened to him with great attention. After he had freely given Pompey the honour that was his due, and said much in his praise, he advised them to spare him, and not to expose such a man to so many dangers; "for where will you find another," said he, "if you lose him?" They answered with one voice, "Yourself." Finding his arguments had no effect, he retired. Then Roscius mounted the rostrum, but not a man would give ear to him. However he made signs to them with his fingers, that they should not appoint Pompey alone, but give him a colleague. Incensed at the proposal, they set up such a shout, that a crow, which was flying over the *forum*, was stunned with the force of it, and fell down among the crowd. Hence we may conclude,

* The consuls of this year were Calpurnius Piso, and Acilius Glabrio.

clude, that when birds fall on ſuch occaſions, it is not becauſe the air is ſo divided with the ſhock as to leave a *vacuum*, but rather becauſe the ſound ſtrikes them like a blow, when it aſcends with ſuch force, and produces ſo violent an agitation.

The aſſembly broke up that day, without coming to any reſolution. When the day came that they were to give their ſuffrages, Pompey retired into the country; and, on receiving information that the decree was paſſed, he returned to the city by night, to prevent the envy which the multitudes of people coming to meet him, would have excited. Next morning at break of day he made his appearance, and attended the ſacrifice. After which, he ſummoned an aſſembly, and obtained a grant of almoſt as much more as the firſt decree had given him. He was impowered to fit out five hundred galleys, and to raiſe an army of a hundred and twenty thouſand foot, and five thouſand horſe. Twenty-four ſenators were ſelected, who had all been generals or prætors, and were appointed his lieutenants; and he had two quæſtors given him. As the price of proviſions fell immediately, the people were greatly pleaſed, and it gave them occaſion to ſay, "The very "name of Pompey had terminated the war."

However, in purſuance of his charge, he divided the whole Mediterranean into thirteen parts, appointing a lieutenant for each, and aſſigning him a ſquadron. By thus ſtationing his fleets in all quarters, he encloſed the pirates as it were in a net, took great numbers of them, and brought them into harbour. Such of their veſſels as had diſperſed and made off in time, or could eſcape the general chaſe, retired to Cilicia, like ſo many bees into a hive. Againſt theſe he propoſed to go himſelf with ſixty of his beſt galleys; but firſt he reſolved to clear the Tuſcan ſea, and the coaſts of Africa, Sardinia, Corſica, and Sicily of all piratical adventurers; which he effected in forty days, by his own indefatigable endeavours and thoſe of his lieutenants. But, as the conſul Piſo was indulging his malignity at home, in waſting his ſtores and diſcharging his ſeamen, he ſent his fleet round to Brunduſium, and went himſelf by land through Tuſcany to Rome.

As ſoon as the people were informed of his approach, they went in crowds to receive him, in the ſame manner as they had done a few days before, to conduct him on his way.

way. Their extraordinary joy was owing to the ſpeed with which he had executed his commiſſion, ſo far beyond all expectation, and to the ſuperabundant plenty which reigned in the markets. For this reaſon Piſo was in danger of being depoſed from the conſulſhip, and Gabinius had a decree ready drawn up for that purpoſe. But Pompey would not ſuffer him to propoſe it. On the contrary, his ſpeech to the people was full of candour and moderation; and when he had provided ſuch things as he wanted, he went to Brunduſium, and put to ſea again. Though he was ſtraitened for time, and in his haſte ſailed by many cities without calling, yet he ſtopped at Athens. He entered the town and ſacrificed to the gods; after which he addreſſed the people, and then prepared to reimbark immediately. As he went out of the gate he obſerved two inſcriptions, each comprized in one line.

That within the gate was—

> But know thyſelf a man, and be a god.

That without—

> We wiſh'd, we ſaw; we lov'd, and we ador'd.

Some of the pirates who yet traverſed the ſeas, made their ſubmiſſion; and as he treated them in a humane manner, when he had them and their ſhips in his power, others entertained hopes of mercy, and, avoiding the other officers, ſurrendered themſelves to Pompey, together with their wives and children. He ſpared them all; and it was principally by their means that he found out and took a number who were guilty of unpardonable crimes, and therefore had concealed themſelves.

Still, however, there remained a great number, and indeed the moſt powerful part of theſe corſairs, who ſent their families, treaſures, and all uſeleſs hands, into caſtles and fortified towns upon Mount Taurus. Then they manned their ſhips, and waited for Pompey at Coraceſium, in Cilicia. A battle enſued, and the pirates were defeated; after which they retired into the fort. But they had not been long beſieged before they capitulated, and ſurrendered themſelves, together with the cities and iſlands which they had conquered and fortified, and which by their works, as well as ſituation, were almoſt impregnable. Thus the war

war was finiſhed, and the whole force of the pirates deſtroyed, within three months at the fartheſt.

Beſide the other veſſels, Pompey took ninety ſhips with beaks of braſs; and the priſoners amounted to twenty thouſand. He did not chooſe to put them to death, and at the ſame time he thought it wrong to ſuffer them to diſperſe, becauſe they were not only numerous, but warlike and neceſſitous, and therefore would probably knit again and give future trouble. He reflected, that man by nature is neither a ſavage nor an unſocial creature; and when he becomes ſo, it is by vices contrary to nature; yet even then he may be humanized by changing his place of abode, and accuſtoming him to a new manner of life; as beaſts that are naturally wild, put off their fierceneſs, when they are kept in a domeſtic way. For this reaſon he determined to remove the pirates to a great diſtance from the ſea, and bring them to taſte the ſweets of civil life, by living in cities, and by the culture of the ground. He placed ſome of them in the little towns of Cilicia, which were almoſt deſolate, and which received them with pleaſure, becauſe at the ſame time he gave them an additional proportion of lands. He repaired the city of Soli *, which had lately been diſmantled and deprived of its inhabitants by Tigranes, king of Armenia, and peopled it with a number of theſe corſairs. The remainder which was a conſiderable body, he planted in Dyma, a city of Achaia, which, though it had a large and fruitful territory, was in want of inhabitants.

Such as looked upon Pompey with envy, found fault with theſe proceedings; but his conduct with reſpect to Metellus in Crete, was not agreeable to his beſt friends. This was a relation of that Metellus who commanded in conjunction with Pompey in Spain, and he had been ſent into Crete ſome time before Pompey was employed in this war. For Crete was the ſecond nurſery of pirates after Cilicia. Metellus had deſtroyed many neſts of them there, and the remainder, who were beſieged by him at this time, addreſſed themſelves to Pompey as ſuppliants, and invited him into the iſland, as included in his commiſſion, and falling within the diſtance he had a right to carry his arms from the ſea. He liſtened to their application, and by letter

* He called it after his own name Pompeiopolis.

ter enjoined Metellus to take no farther ſteps in the war. At the ſame time he ordered the cities of Crete not to obey Metellus, but Lucius Octavius, one of his own lieutenants, whom he ſent to take the command.

Octavius went in among the beſieged, and fought on their ſide. A circumſtance which rendered Pompey not only odious, but ridiculous. For what could be more abſurd, than to ſuffer himſelf to be ſo blinded by his envy and jealouſy of Metellus, as to lend his name and authority to a crew of profligate wretches, to be uſed as a kind of amulet to defend them. Achilles was not thought to behave like a man, but like a frantic youth carried away by an extravagant paſſion for fame, when he made ſigns to his troops not to touch Hector,

> Leſt ſome ſtrong arm ſhould ſnatch the glorious prize
> Before Pelides.———

But Pompey fought for the common enemies of mankind, in order to deprive a prætor, who was labouring to deſtroy them, of the honours of a triumph. Metellus, however, purſued his operations, till he took the pirates and put them all to death. As for Octavius, he expoſed him in the camp as an object of contempt, and loaded him with reproaches, after which he diſmiſſed him.

When news was brought to Rome, that the war with the pirates was finiſhed, and that Pompey was beſtowing his leiſure upon viſiting the cities, Manilius, one of the tribunes of the people, propoſed a decree, which gave him all the provinces and forces under the command of Lucullus, adding likewiſe Bithynia, which was then governed by Glabrio. It directed him to carry on the war againſt Mithridates and Tigranes; for which purpoſe he was alſo to retain his naval command. This was ſubjecting at once the whole Romun empire to one man. For, the provinces which the former decree did not give him, Phrygia, Lycaonia, Galatia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, the Upper Colchis, and Armenia, were granted by this, together with all the forces, which, under Lucullus, had defeated Mithridates and Tigranes.

By this law, Lucullus was deprived of the honours he had dearly earned, and had a perſon to ſucceed him in his triumph, rather than in the war; but that was not the thing which affected the patricians moſt. They were perſuaded,

ſuaded, indeed, that Lucullus was treated with injuſtice and ingratitude; but it was a much more painful circumſtance, to think of a power in the hands of Pompey, which they could call nothing but a tyranny *. They therefore exhorted and encouraged each other to oppoſe the law, and maintain their liberty. Yet when the time came, their fear of the people prevailed, and no one ſpoke on the occaſion but Catulus. He urged many arguments againſt the bill; and when he found they had no effect upon the commons, he addreſſed himſelf to the ſenators, and called upon them many times from the *roſtrum*, "To ſeek ſome "mountain, as their anceſtors had done, ſome rock whi"ther they might fly for the preſervation of liberty."

We are told, however, that the bill was paſſed by all the tribes †, and almoſt the ſame univerſal authority conferred upon Pompey in his abſence, which Sylla did not gain but by the ſword, and by carrying war into the bowels of his country. When Pompey received the letters which notified his high promotion, and his friends, who happened to be by, congratulated him on the occaſion, he is ſaid to have knit his brows, ſmote his thigh, and expreſſed himſelf as if he was already overburthened and wearied with the weight of power ‡: "Alas! is there "no end of my conflicts? How much better would it have "been to be one of the undiſtinguiſhed many, than to be "perpetually engaged in war? Shall I never be able to "fly from envy to a rural retreat, to domeſtic happineſs, "and conjugal endearments?" Even his friends were unable to bear the diſſimulation of this ſpeech. They knew that the flame of his native ambition and luſt of power was blown up to a greater height by the difference he had with

* "We have then got at laſt, ſaid they, a ſovereign; the republic "is changed into a monarchy; the ſervices of Lucullus, the honour of "Glabrio and Marcius, two zealous and worthy ſenators, are to be "ſacrificed to the promotion of Pompey. Sylla never carried his ty"ranny ſo far."

† Two great men ſpoke in favour of the law, namely, Cicero and Cæſar. The former aimed at the conſulate, which Pompey's party could more eaſily procure him, than that of Catulus and the ſenate. As for Cæſar, he was delighted to ſee the people inſenſibly loſe that republican ſpirit and love of liberty, which might one day obſtruct the vaſt deſigns he had already formed.

‡ Is it poſſible to read this without recollecting the ſimiliar character of our Richard the Third?

with Lucullus, and that he rejoiced the more in the preſent preference, on that account.

His actions ſoon unmaſked the man. He cauſed public notice to be given in all places within his commiſſion, that the Roman troops were to repair to him, as well as the kings and princes their allies. Wherever he went, he annulled the acts of Lucullus, remitting the fines he had impoſed, and taking away the rewards he had given. In ſhort, he omitted no means to ſhew the partizans of that general, that all his authority was gone.

Lucullus, of courſe, complained of this treatment; and their common friends were of opinion, that it would be beſt for them to come to an interview; accordingly they met in Galatia. As they had both given diſtinguiſhed proofs of military merit, the *lictors* had entwined the rods of each with laurel. Lucullus had marched through a country full of flouriſhing groves, but Pompey's route was dry and barren, without the ornament or advantage of woods. His laurels, therefore, were parched and withered; which the ſervant of Lucullus no ſooner obſerved, than they freely ſupplied them with freſh ones, and crowned his *faſces* with them. This ſeemed to be an omen that Pompey would bear away the honours and rewards of Lucullus's victories. Lucullus had been conſul before Pompey, and was the older man, but Pompey's two triumphs gave him the advantage in point of dignity.

Their interview had at firſt the face of great politeneſs and civility. They began with mutual compliments and congratulations: But they ſoon loſt ſight even of candour and moderation; they proceeded to abuſive language; Pompey reproaching Lucullus with avarice, and Lucullus accuſing Pompey of an inſatiable luſt of power; inſomuch that their friends found it difficult to prevent violence. After this, Lucullus gave his friends and followers lands in Galatia, as a conquered country, and made other conſiderable grants. But Pompey, who encamped at a little diſtance from him, declared he would not ſuffer his orders to be carried into execution, and ſeduced all his ſoldiers, except ſixteen hundred, who, he knew, were ſo mutinous that they would be as unſerviceable to him as they had been ill-affected to their old general. Nay, he ſcrupled not to diſparage the conduct of Lucullus, and to repreſent his actions in a deſpicable light. "The battles of Lucul-

"lus,

"lus," he ſaid, "were only mock-battles, and he had fought "with nothing but the ſhadows of kings; but that it was "left for *him* to contend with real ſtrength, and well-"diſciplined armies; ſince Mithridates had betaken him-"ſelf to ſwords and ſhields, and knew how to make a "proper uſe of his cavalry."

On the other hand, Lucullus defended himſelf by obſerving, "That it was nothing new to Pompey to fight with "phantoms and ſhadows of war: for, like a daſtardly "bird, he had been accuſtomed to prey upon thoſe whom "he had not killed, and to tear the poor remains of a "dying oppoſition. Thus he had arrogated to himſelf "the conqueſt of Sertorius, of Lepidus, and Spartacus, "which originally belonged to Metellus, to Catulus, and "Craſſus. Conſequently, he did not wonder that he was "come to claim the honour of finiſhing the wars of Ar-"menia and Pontus, after he had thruſt himſelf into the "triumph over the fugitive ſlaves."

In a little time Lucullus departed for Rome; and Pompey having ſecured the ſea from Phœnicia to the Boſphorus, marched in queſt of Mithridates, who had an army of thirty thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe, but durſt not ſtand an engagement. That prince was in poſſeſſion of a ſtrong and ſecure poſt upon a mountain, which he quitted upon Pompey's approach, becauſe it was deſtitute of water. Pompey encamped in the ſame place; and conjecturing, from the nature of the plants and the crevices in the mountain, that ſprings might be found, he ordered a number of wells to be dug, and the camp was in a ſhort time plentifully ſupplied with water*. He was not a little ſurpriſed that this did not occur to Mithridates during the whole time of his encampment there.

After this, Pompey followed him to his new camp, and drew a line of circumvallation round him. Mithridates ſtood a ſiege of forty-five days, after which he found means to ſteal off with his beſt troops, having firſt killed all the ſick, and ſuch as could be of no ſervice. Pompey overtook him near the Euphrates, and encamped over againſt him; but fearing he might paſs the river unperceived, he drew out his troops at midnight. At that time Mithridates is ſaid to have had a dream prefigurative of what was

* Paulus Æmilius had done the ſame thing long before in the Macedonian war.

was to befal him. He thought he was upon the Pontic sea, sailing with a favourable wind, and in sight of the Bosphorus; so that he felicitated his friends in the ship, like a man perfectly safe, and already in harbour. But suddenly he beheld himself in the most destitute condition, swimming upon a piece of wreck. While he was in all the agitation which this dream produced, his friends awaked him, and told him that Pompey was at hand. He was now under a necessity of fighting for his camp, and his generals drew up the forces with all possible expedition.

Pompey seeing them prepared, was loth to risk a battle in the dark. He thought it sufficient to surround them, so as to prevent their flight; and what inclined him still more to wait for day-light, was the consideration that his troops were much better than the enemy's. However, the oldest of his officers intreated him to proceed immediately to the attack, and at last prevailed. It was not indeed very dark; for the moon, though near her setting, gave light enough to distinguish objects. But it was a great disadvantage to the king's troops, that the moon was so low, and on the backs of the Romans; because she projected their shadows so far before them, that the enemy could form no just estimate of the distances, but thinking them at hand, threw their javelins before they could do the least execution.

The Romans perceiving their mistake, advanced to the charge with all the alarm of voices. The enemy were in such a consternation that they made not the least stand, and, in their flight, vast numbers were slain. They lost above ten thousand men, and their camp was taken. As for Mithridates, he broke through the Romans with eight hundred horse, in the beginning of the engagement. That corps, however, did not follow him far before they dispersed, and left him with only three of his people; one of which was his concubine Hypsicratia, a woman of such a masculine and daring spirit, that the king used to call her Hypsicrates. She then rode a Persian horse, and was dressed in a man's habit, of the fashion of that nation. She complained not in the least of the length of the march; and beside that fatigue, she waited on the king, and took care of his horse, till they reached the castle

caſtle of Inora *, where the king's treaſure, and his moſt valuable moveables were depoſited. Mithridates took out thence many rich robes, and beſtowed them on thoſe who repaired to him after their flight. He furniſhed each of his feiends, too, with a quantity of poiſon, that none of them, againſt their will, might come alive into the enemy's hands.

From Inora his deſign was to go to Tigranes in Armenia. But Tigranes had given up the cauſe, and ſet a price of no leſs than a hundred talents upon his head. He therefore changed his route, and having paſſed the head of the Euphrates, directed his flight through Colchis.

In the mean time, Pompey entered Armenia, upon the invitation of young Tigranes, who had revolted from his father, and was gone to meet the Roman general at the river Araxes. This river takes its riſe near the ſource of the Euphrates, but bends its courſe eaſtward, and empties itſelf into the Caſpian ſea. Pompey and young Tigranes, in their march, received the homage of the cities through which they paſſed. As for Tigranes the father, he had been lately defeated by Lucullus; aud now, being informed that Pompey was of a mild and humane diſpoſition, he received a Roman garriſon into his capital; and taking his friends and relations with him, went to ſurrender himſelf. As he rode up to the entrenchments, two of Pompey's *lictors* came and ordered him to diſmount, and enter on foot; aſſuring him that no man was ever ſeen on horſeback in a Roman camp. Tigranes obeyed, and even took off his ſword, and gave it them. As ſoon as he came before Pompey, he pulled off his diadem, and attempted to lay it at his feet. What was ſtill worſe, he was going to proſtrate himſelf, and embrace his knees. But Pompey preventing it, took him by the hand, and placed him on one ſide of him, and his ſon on the other. Then addreſſing himſelf to the father, he ſaid, "As to "what you had loſt before, you loſt it to Lucullus. It "was he who took from you Syria, Phœnicia, Cilicia, "Galatia, and Sophene. But what you kept till my "time, I will reſtore you, on condition you pay the Ro-"mans a fine of ſix thouſand talents for the injury you "have

* It ſeems from a paſſage in Strabo, (B. xii.) that inſtead of *Inora*, we ſhould read, *Sinoria*: For that was one of the many fortreſſes Mithridates had built between the greater and the leſs Armenia.

"have done them. Your ſon I will make king of So-
"phene.

Tigranes thought himſelf ſo happy in theſe terms, and in finding that the Romans ſaluted him king, that in the joy of his heart he promiſed every private ſoldier half a *mina*, every centurion ten *minas*, and every tribune a talent. But his ſon was little pleaſed at the determination; and when he was invited to ſupper, he ſaid, "He had no "need of ſuch honours from Pompey; for he could find "another Roman." Upon this, he was bound, and reſerved in chains for the triumph. Not long after Phraätes, king of Parthia, ſent to demand the young prince, as his ſon-in-law, and to propoſe that the Euphrates ſhould be the boundary between him and the Roman empire. Pompey anſwered, "That Tigranes was certainly nearer to his fa-"ther than his father-in-law; and as for the boundary, "juſtice ſhould direct it."

When he had deſpatched this affair, he left Afranius to take care of Armenia, and marched himſelf to the countries bordering on mount Caucaſus, through which he muſt neceſſarily paſs in ſearch of Mithridates. The Albanians and Iberians are the principal nations in thoſe parts. The Iberian territories touch upon the Moſchian mountains and the kingdom of Pontus; the Albanians ſtretch more to the eaſt, and extend to the Caſpian ſea. The Albanians at firſt granted Pompey a paſſage: But as winter overtook him in her dominions, they took the opportunity of the *Saturnalia*, which the Romans obſerve religiouſly, to aſſemble their forces to the number of forty thouſand men, with a reſolution to attack them; and for that purpoſe paſſed the Cyrnus *. The Cyrnus riſes in the Iberian mountains, and being joined in its courſe by the Araxes from Armenia, it diſcharges itſelf, by twelve mouths, into the Caſpian ſea. Some ſay, the Araxes does not run into it †, but has a ſeparate channel, and empties itſelf near it into the ſame ſea.

Pompey ſuffered them to paſs the river, though it was in his power to have hindered it; and when they were all got over, he attacked and routed them, and killed great numbers

* Strabo and Pliny call this river *Cyrus*, and ſo Plutarch probably wrote it.

† This is Strabo's opinion, in which he is followed by the modern geographers.

bers on the ſpot. Their king ſent ambaſſadors to beg for mercy; upon which Pompey forgave him the violence he had offered, and entered into alliance with him. This done, he marched againſt the Iberians, who were equally numerous and more warlike, and who were very deſirous to ſignalize their zeal for Mithridates, by repulſing Pompey. The Iberians were never ſubject to the Medes or Perſians: They eſcaped even the Macedonian yoke, becauſe Alexander was obliged to leave Hyrcania in haſte. Pompey, however, defeated this people too, in a great battle, in which he killed no leſs than nine thouſand, and took above ten thouſand priſoners.

After this, he threw himſelf into Colchis; and Servilius came and joined him at the mouth of the Phaſis, with the fleet appointed to guard the Euxine ſea. The purſuit of Mithridates was attended with great difficulties: for he had concealed himſelf among the nations ſettled about the Boſphorus and the Palus Mæotis. Beſides, news was brought Pompey that the Albanians had revolted, and taken up arms again. The deſire of revenge determined him to march back, and chaſtiſe them. But it was with infinite trouble and danger that he paſſed the Cyrnus again, the barbarians having fenced it on their ſide with palliſades all along the banks. And when he was over he had a large country to traverſe, which afforded no water. This laſt difficulty he provided againſt, by filling ten thouſand bottles; and purſuing his march, he found the enemy drawn up on the banks of the river Abas*, to the number of ſixty thouſand foot, and twelve thouſand horſe, but many of them ill-armed, and provided with nothing of the defenſive kind but ſkins of beaſts.

They were commanded by the king's brother, named Coſis; who, at the beginning of the battle, ſingled out Pompey, and ruſhing in upon him, ſtruck his javelin into the joints of his breaſt-plate. Pompey in return run him through with his ſpear, and laid him dead on the ſpot. It is ſaid that the Amazons came to the aſſiſtance of the barbarians from the mountains near the river Thermodon, and fought in this battle. The Romans, among the plunder of the field, did, indeed, meet with bucklers in the form of a half-moon,

* This river takes its riſe in the mountains of Albania, and falls into the Caſpian ſea. Ptolemy calls it *Albanus*.

half-moon, and ſuch buſkins as the Amazons wore; but there was not the body of a woman found among the dead. They inhabit that part of Mount Caucaſus which ſtretches towards the Hyrcanian ſea, and are not next neighbours to the Albanians; for Gelæ and Leges lie between; but they meet that people, and ſpend two months with them every year on the banks of the Thermodon: After which they retire to their own country, where they live without the company of men.

After this action, Pompey deſigned to make his way to the Caſpian ſea, and march by its coaſts into Hyrcania †; but he found the number of venomous ſerpents ſo troubleſome, that he was forced to return, when three days march more would have carried him as far as he propoſed ‡.— The next route he took was into Armenia the Leſs, where he gave audience to ambaſſadors from the kings of the Elymæans || and Medes, and diſmiſſed them with letters expreſſive of his regard. Mean time the king of Parthia had entered Gordyene, and was doing infinite damage to the ſubjects of Tigranes. Againſt him Pompey ſent Afranius, who put him to the route, and purſued him as far as the province of Arbelis.

Among all the concubines of Mithridates that were brought before Pompey, he touched not one, but ſent them to their parents or huſbands; for moſt of them were either daughters or wives of the great officers and principal perſons of the kingdom. But Stratonice, who was the firſt favourite, and had the care of a fort where the beſt part of the king's treaſure was lodged, was the daughter of a poor old muſician. She ſung one evening to Mithridates at

* The Albanian forces, according to Strabo, were numerous, but ill-diſciplined. Their offenſive weapons were darts and arrows, and their defenſive armour was made of the ſkins of beaſts.

† —Ελαυνειν επι την Ὑρκανιαν και Κασπιαν θαλασσαν—— Plutarch mentions the Caſpian ſea after Hyrcania. But as that ſea lies very near Albania, there was no neceſſity for Pompey to go through Hyrcania to it. Perhaps Plutarch meant the other extremity of the Caſpian ſea.

‡ Τριων ὁδον ἡμερων αποσχων. The former Engliſh tranſlator erroneouſly renders this, was forced to retreat *after three days march.*

|| Strabo (Lib. xvi.) places the Elymæans in that part of Aſſyria which borders upon Media, and mentions three provinces belonging to them Gabiane, Meſſabatice, and Corbiane. He adds, that they were powerful enough to refuſe ſubmiſſion to the king of Parthia.

at an entertainment, and he was so much pleased with he that he took her to his bed that night, and sent the old man home in no very good humour, because he had taken his daughter, without condescending to speak one kind word to him. But when he waked next morning, he saw tables covered with vessels of gold and silver, a great retinue of eunuchs and pages, who offered him choice of rich robes, and before his gate a horse with such magnificent furniture, as is provided for those who are called the king's friends. All this he thought nothing but an insult and burlesque upon him, and therefore prepared for flight; but the servants stopped him, and assured him, that the king had given him the house of a rich nobleman lately deceased, and that what he saw was only the first-fruits—a small earnest of the fortune he intended him. At last he suffered himself to be persuaded that the scene was not visionary; he put on the purple, and mounted the horse, and, as he rode through the city, cried out, "All "this is mine." The inhabitants, of course, laughed at him; and he told them, "They should not be surprised "at this behaviour of his, but rather wonder that he did "not throw stones at them."

From such a glorious source sprung STRATONICE.

She surrendered to Pompey the castle, and made him many magnificent presents; however, he took nothing but what might be an ornament to the solemnities of religion, and add lustre to his triumph. The rest he desired she would keep for her own enjoyment. In like manner, when the king of Iberia sent him a bedstead, a table, and a throne, all of massy gold, and begged of him to accept them as a mark of his regard, he bade the quæstors apply them to the purposes of the public revenue.

In the castle of Cænon he found the private papers of Mithridates; and he read them with some pleasure, because they discovered that prince's real character. From these memoirs it appeared, that he had taken off many persons by poison, among whom were his own son Ariarathes and Alcæus of Sardis. His pique against the latter took its rise merely from his having better horses for the race than he. There were also interpretations, both of his own dreams and those of his wives; and the lascivious letters which had passed between him and Mo-

nime. Theophanes pretends to ſay, that there was found among thoſe papers a memorial compoſed by Rutilius*, exhorting Mithridates to maſſacre all the Romans in Aſia. But moſt people believe this was a malicious invention of Theophanes, to blacken Rutilius, whom probably he hated, becauſe he was a perfect contraſt to him; or it might be invented by Pompey, whoſe father was repreſented in Rutilius's hiſtories as one of the worſt of men.

From Cænon Pompey marched to Amiſus; where his infatuating ambition put him upon very obnoxious meaſures. He had cenſured Lucullus much for diſpoſing of provinces at a time when the war was alive, and for beſtowing other conſiderable gifts and honours, which conquerors uſe to grant after their wars are abſolutely terminated. And yet when Mithridates was maſter of the Boſphorus, and had aſſembled a very reſpectable army again, the ſame Pompey did the very thing he had cenſured.—As if he had finiſhed the whole, he diſpoſed of governments, and diſtributed other rewards among his friends. On that occaſion many princes and generals, and among them twelve barbarian kings, appeared before him; and to gratify thoſe princes, when he wrote to the king of Parthia, he refuſed to give him the title of King of Kings, by which he was uſually addreſſed.

He was paſſionately deſirous to recover Syria, and paſſing from thence through Arabia, to penetrate to the Red Sea, that he might go on conquering every way to the ocean which ſurrounds the world. In Africa he was the firſt whoſe conqueſts extended to the Great Sea; in Spain he ſtretched the Roman dominions to the Atlantic; and in his late purſuit of the Albanians, he wanted but little of reaching the Hyrcanian ſea. In order, therefore, to take the Red Sea too into the circle of his wars, be began his march; the rather, becauſe he ſaw it difficult to hunt out Mithridates with a regular force, and that he was much harder to deal with in his flight than in battle. For this reaſon, he ſaid, "He would leave him a ſtronger enemy "than the Romans to cope with, which was famine." In purſuance of this intention, he ordered a number of ſhips to

* P. Rutilius Rufus was conſul in the year of Rome 649. Cicero gives him a great character. He was afterwards baniſhed into Aſia, and when Sylla recalled him, he refuſed to return. He wrote a Roman hiſtory in Greek, which Appian made great uſe of.

to cruiſe about, and prevent any veſſels from entering the Boſphorus with proviſions; and that death ſhould be the puniſhment for ſuch as were taken in the attempt.

As he was upon his march with the beſt part of his army, he found the bodies of thoſe Romans, who fell in the unfortunate battle between Triarius * and Mithridates, ſtill uninterred. He gave them an honourable burial; and the omiſſion of it ſeems to have contributed not a little to the averſion the army had for Lucullus.

Proceeding in the execution of his plan, he ſubdued the Arabians about mount Amanus, by his lieutenant Afranius, and deſcended himſelf into Syria; which he converted into a Roman province, becauſe it had no lawful king†. He reduced Judæa, and took its king Ariſtoblus priſoner. He founded ſome cities, and ſet others free; puniſhing the tyrants who had enſlaved them. But moſt of his time was ſpent in adminiſtering juſtice, and in deciding the diſputes between cities and princes. Where he could not go himſelf, he ſent his friends: The Armenians and Parthians, for inſtance, having referred the difference they had about ſome territory, to his deciſion, he ſent three arbitrators to ſettle the affair. His reputation as to power was great, and it was equally reſpectable as to virtue and moderation. This was the thing which palliated moſt of his faults, and thoſe of his miniſters. He knew not how to reſtrain or puniſh the offences of thoſe he employed, but he gave ſo gracious a reception to thoſe who came to complain of them, that they went away not ill-ſatisfied with all they had ſuffered from their avarice and oppreſſion.

His firſt favourite was Demetrius his enfranchiſed ſlave; a young man, who, in other reſpects, did not want underſtanding, but who made an inſolent uſe of his good fortune. They tell us this ſtory of him. Cato the philoſopher, then a young man, but already celebrated for his virtue

* Triarius was defeated by Mithridates three years before Pompey's march into Syria. He had twenty-three tribunes, and a hundred and fifty centurions killed in that battle; and his camp was taken.

† Pompey took the temple of Jeruſalem, killing no leſs than twelve thouſand Jews in the action. He entered the temple contrary to their law, but had the moderation not to touch any of the holy utenſils, or the treaſure belonging to it. Ariſtobulus preſented him with a golden vine, valued at five hundred talents, which he afterwards conſecrated in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.

virtue and greatneſs of mind, went to ſee Antioch, when Pompey was not there. According to cuſtom, he travelled on foot, but his friends accompanied him on horſeback. When he approached the city, he ſaw a great number of people before the gates, all in white, and on the way a troop of young men ranged on one ſide, and and of boys on the other. This gave the philoſopher pain; for he thought it a compliment intended him, which he did not want.—However, he ordered his friends to alight and walk with him. As ſoon as they were near enough to be ſpoke with, the maſter of the ceremonies, with a crown on bis head, and a ſtaff of office in his hand, came up and aſked them, "Where they had left Demetrius, and when he might "be expected? Cato's companions laughed, but Cato ſaid only, "Alas, poor city!" and ſo paſſed on.

Indeed, others might the better endure the inſolence of Demetrius, becauſe Pompey bore with it himſelf. Very often, when Pompey was waiting to receive company, Demetrius ſeated himſelf in a diſreſpectful manner at table, with his cap of liberty * pulled over his ears. Before his return to Italy he had purchaſed the pleaſanteſt villas about Rome, with magnificent apartments for entertaining his friends †; and ſome of the moſt elegant and expenſive gardens were known by his name. Yet Pompey himſelf was ſatisfied with an indifferent houſe till his third triumph. Afterwards, he built that beautiful and celebrated theatre in Rome; and as an appendage to it, built himſelf a houſe, much handſomer than the former, but not oſtentatiouſly great; for he who came to be maſter of it after him, at his firſt entrance was ſurpriſed, and aſked, "Where was the room in which Pompey the Great uſed "to ſup?" Such is the account we have of theſe matters.

The king of Arabia Petræa had hitherto conſidered the Romans in no formidable light, but he was really afraid of Pompey, and ſent letters to acquaint him, that he was ready

* The word ἱματιον ſignifies here the cap of liberty worn by freedmen, not the flaps of a robe, which was all that the other Romans had to cover their heads with. Indeed, they went bare-headed.

† The Latin tranſlator renders των ἡβητηριων τα καλλιςα, *pulcherrima gymnaſia*; and Dacier, *les plus beaux parces peur les exercices de la jeuneſſe*; but Athenæus (l.x.) gives us a more appoſite ſenſe of the word ἡβητηρια, καλεισθαι τα συμποσια. Dining-rooms might be called ἡβητηρια, becauſe youth and mirth convey ſimilar ideas.

ready to obey all his commands. Pompey, to try the sincerity of his professions, marched against Petra. Many blamed this expedition, looking upon it as no better than a pretext to be excused pursuing Mithridates, against whom they would have had him turn, as against the ancient enemy of Rome; and an enemy, who, according to all accounts, had so far recovered his strength, as to propose marching through Scythia and Pæonia into Italy. On the other hand, Pompey was of opinion that it was much easier to ruin him when at the head of an army, than to take him in his flight, and therefore would not amuse himself with a fruitless pursuit, but rather chose to wait for a new emergency, and, in the mean time, to turn his arms to another quarter.

Fortune soon resolved the doubt. He had advanced near Petra, and encamped for that day, and was taking some exercise on horseback without the trenches, when messengers arrived from Pontus; and it was plain they brought good news, because the points of their spears were crowned with laurel. The soldiers seeing this, gathered about Pompey, who was inclined to finish his exercise before he opened the packet; but they were so earnest in their intreaties, that they prevailed upon him to alight and take it. He entered the camp with it in his hand; and as there was no tribunal ready, and the soldiers were too impatient to raise one of turf, which was the common method, they piled a number of pack-saddles one upon another, upon which Pompey mounted, and gave them this information: "Mithridates is dead. "He killed himself upon the revolt of his son Pharnaces. "And Pharnaces has seized all that belonged to his father; which he declares he has done for himself and "the Romans."

At this news the army, as might be expected, gave a loose to their joy, which they expressed in sacrifices to the gods, and in reciprocal entertainments, as if ten thousand of their enemies had been slain in Mithridates. Pompey having thus brought the campaign and the whole war to a conclusion so happy, and so far beyond his hopes, immediately quitted Arabia, traversed the provinces between that and Galatia with great rapidity, and soon arrived at Amisus. There he found many presents from Pharnaces, and several corpses of the royal family, among which

which was that of Mithridates. The face of that prince could not be easily known, because the embalmers had not taken out the brain, and by the corruption of that, the features were disfigured. Yet some that were curious to examine it, distinguished it by the scars. As for Pompey, he would not see the body, but, to propitiate the avenging deity *, sent it to Sinope. However, he looked upon and admired the magnificence of his habit, and the size and beauty of his arms. The scabbard of the sword, which cost four hundred talents, was stolen by one Publius, who sold it to Ariarathes. And Caius, the foster-brother of Mithridates, took the diadem, which was of most exquisite workmanship, and gave it privately to Faustus, the son of Sylla, who had begged it of him. This escaped the knowledge of Pompey, but Pharnaces discovering it afterwards, punished the persons guilty of the theft.

Pompey having thoroughly settled the affairs of Asia, proceeded in his return to Rome with more pomp and solemnity. When he arrived at Mitylene, he declared it a free city, for the sake of Theophanes, who was born there. He was present at the anniversary exercises of the poets, whose sole subject that year was the actions of Pompey. And he was so much pleased with their theatre, that he took a plan of it, with a design to build one like it at Rome, but greater and more noble. When he came to Rhodes, he attended the declamations of all the Sophists, and presented each of them with a talent. Posidonius committed the discourse to writing, which he made before him against the position of Hermagoras, another professor of rhetoric, concerning Invention in general †. He behaved with equal munificence to the philosophers at Athens, and gave the people fifty talents for the repair of their city.

He hoped to return to Italy the greatest and happiest of men, and that his family would meet his affection with equal ardour. But the deity whose care it is always to mix some portion of evil with the highest and most splendid favours of fortune, had been long preparing him a sad welcome

* Nemesis.

† Hermagoras was for reducing *invention* under two general heads, the reason of the process, and the state of the question; which limitation Cicero disapproved as much as his master Posidonius. Vide Cicer. de Invent. Rhetor. Lib. i.

This Posidonius, who is of Apamea, is not to be confounded with Posidonius of Alexandria, the disciple of Zeno.

welcome in his houſe. Mucia *, in his abſence, had diſhonoured his bed. While he was at a diſtance, he diſregarded the report, but upon his approach to Italy, and a more mature examination into the affair, he sent her a divorce, without aſſigning his reaſons either then or afterwards. The true reaſon is to be found in Cicero's epiſtles.

People talked variouſly at Rome concerning Pompey's intentions. Many diſturbed themſelves at the thought that he would march with his army immediately to Rome, and make himſelf ſole and abſolute maſter there. Craſſus took his children and money, and withdrew; whether it was that he had ſome real apprehenſions, or rather that he choſe to countenance the calumny, and add force to the ſting of envy; the latter ſeems the more probable. But Pompey had no ſooner ſet foot in Italy, than he called an aſſembly of his ſoldiers, and, after a kind and ſuitable addreſs, ordered them to diſperſe in their reſpective cities, and attend to their own affairs till his triumph, on which occaſion they were to repair to him again.

As ſoon as it was known that his troops were diſbanded, an aſtoniſhing change appeared in the face of things. The cities ſeeing Pompey the Great unarmed, and attended by a few friends, as if he was returning only from a common tour, poured out their inhabitants after him, who conducted him to Rome with the ſincereſt pleaſure, and with a much greater force than that which he had diſmiſſed; ſo that there would have been no need of the army, if he had formed any deſigns againſt the ſtate.

As the law did not permit him to enter the city before his triumph, he deſired the ſenate to defer the election of conſuls on his account, that he might by his preſence ſupport the intereſt of Piſo. But Cato oppoſed it, and the motion miſcarried. Pompey, admiring the liberty and firmneſs with which Cato maintained the rights and cuſtoms of his country, at a time when no other man would appear

* Mucia was ſiſter to Metellus Celer, and to Metellus Nepos. She was debauched by Cæſar: for which reaſon, when Pompey married Cæſar's daughter, all the world blamed him for turning off a wife by whom he had three children to eſpouſe the daughter of a man whom he had often, with a ſigh, called his Ægiſthus. Mucia's diſloyalty muſt have been very public, ſince Cicero, in one of his letters to Atticus, ſays, the divorce of Mucia meets with general approbation, Lib. i. ep. xii.

pear ſo openly for them, determined to gain him if poſſible; and as Cato had two nieces, he offered to marry the one, and aſked the other for his ſon. Cato, however, ſuſpected the bait, and looked upon the propoſed alliance as a means intended to corrupt his integrity. He therefore refuſed it, to the great regret of his wife and ſiſter, who could not but be diſpleaſed at his rejecting ſuch advances from Pompey the Great. Meantime Pompey being deſirous to get the conſulſhip from Afranius, diſtributed money for that purpoſe among the tribes; and the voters went to receive it in Pompey's own gardens. The thing was ſo public, that Pompey was much cenſured for making that office venal, which he had obtained by his great actions, and opening a way to the higheſt honour in the ſtate to thoſe who had money, but wanted merit. Cato then obſerved to the ladies of his family, that they muſt all have ſhared in this diſgrace, if they had accepted Pompey's alliance; upon which they acknowledged he was a better judge than they of honour and propriety.

The triumph was ſo great, that though it was divided into two days, the time was far from being ſufficient for diſplaying what was prepared to be carried in proceſſion; there remained ſtill enough to adorn another triumph. At the head of the ſhew appeared the titles of the conquered nations; Pontus, Armenia, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Media, Colchis, the Iberians, the Albanians, Syria, Cilicia, Meſopotamia, Phœnicia, Paleſtine, Judæa, Arabia, the pirates ſubdued both by ſea and land. In theſe countries, it was mentioned that there were not leſs than a thouſand caſtles, and near nine hundred cities taken; eight hundred galleys taken from the pirates; and thirty-nine deſolate cities repeopled. On the face of the tablets it appeared beſides, that whereas the revenues of the Roman empire before theſe conqueſts amounted but to fifty millions of *drachmas*, by the new acquiſitions they were advanced to eighty-five millions; and that Pompey had brought into the public treaſury, in money, and in gold and ſilver veſſels, to the value of twenty thouſand talents, beſides what he had diſtributed among the ſoldiers, of whom he that received leaſt had fifteen hundred drachmas to his ſhare. The captives who walked in the proceſſion (not to mention the chiefs of the pirates) were the ſon of Tigranes, king of Armenia, together with his wife and daughter; Zoſima, the

the wife of Tigranes, himſelf; Ariſtobulus, king of Judæa; the ſiſter of Mithridates, with her five ſons; and ſome Scythian women. The hoſtages of the Albanians and Iberians, and of the king of Commagene alſo appeared in the train: and as many trophies were exhibited as Pompey had gained victories, either in perſon or by his lieutenants, the number of which was not ſmall.

But the moſt honourable circumſtance, and what no other Roman could boaſt, was, that his third triumph was over the third quarter of the world, after his former triumphs had been over the other two. Others before him had been honoured with three triumphs; but his firſt triumph was over Africa, his ſecond over Europe, and his third over Aſia; ſo that the three ſeemed to declare him conqueror of the world.

Thoſe who deſire to make the parallel between him and Alexander agree in all reſpects, tell us he was at this time not quite thirty-four, whereas, in fact, he was entering upon his fortieth year*. Happy it had been for him, if he had ended his days, while he was bleſt with Alexander's good fortune! The reſt of his life, every inſtance of ſucceſs brought its proportion of envy, and every miſcarriage was irretrievable. For the authority which he had gained by his merit, he employed for others in a way not very honourable; and his reputation conſequently ſinking, as they grew in ſtrength, he was inſenſibly ruined by the weight of his own power. As it happens in a ſiege, every ſtrong work that is taken adds to the beſieger's force; ſo Cæſar, when raiſed by the influence of Pompey, turned that power which enabled him to trample upon his country, upon Pompey himſelf. It happened in this manner.

Lucullus, who had been treated ſo unworthily by Pompey in Aſia, upon his return to Rome met with the moſt honourable reception from the ſenate; and they gave him ſtill greater marks of their eſteem after the arrival of Pompey; endeavouring to awake his ambition, and prevail with him to attempt the lead in the adminiſtration. But his ſpirit and active powers were by this time on the decline; he had given himſelf up to the pleaſures of eaſe, and the

enjoyments

* It ſhould be forty-ſixth year. Pompey was born in the beginning of the month of Auguſt, in the year of Rome ſix hundred and forty-ſeven, and his triumph was in the ſame month in the year of Rome ſix hundred and ninety-two.

enjoyments of wealth. However, he bore up againſt Pompey with ſome vigour at firſt, and got his acts confirmed, which his adverſary had annulled; having a majority in the ſenate, through the aſſiſtance of Cato.

Pompey, thus worſted in the ſenate, had recourſe to the tribunes of the people and to the young plebians. Clodius, the moſt daring and profligate of them all, received him with open arms, but at the ſame time ſubjected him to all the humours of the populace. He made him dangle after him in the *forum* in a manner far beneath his dignity, and inſiſted upon his ſupporting every bill that he propoſed, and every ſpeech that he made, to flatter and ingratiate himſelf with the people. And, as if the connexion with him had been an honour, inſtead of a diſgrace, he demanded ſtill higher wages; that Pompey ſhould give up Cicero, who had ever been his faſt friend, and of the greateſt uſe to him in the adminiſtration. And theſe wages he obtained. For when Cicero came to be in danger, and requeſted Pompey's aſſiſtance, he refuſed to ſee him, and, ſhutting his gates againſt thoſe that came to intercede for him, went out at a back-door. Cicero, therefore, dreading the iſſue of the trial, departed privately from Rome.

At this time Cæſar returning from his province *, undertook an affair, which rendered him very popular at preſent, and in its conſequences gained him power, but proved a great prejudice to Pompey and to the whole commonwealth. He was then ſoliciting his firſt conſulſhip, and Craſſus and Pompey being at variance, he perceived that if he ſhould join the one, the other would be his enemy of courſe; he therefore ſet himſelf to reconcile them. A thing which ſeemed honourable in itſelf, and calculated for the public good; but the intention was inſidious, though deep laid and covered with the moſt refined policy. For while the power of the ſtate was divided, it kept it in an *equilibrium*, as the burthen of a ſhip properly diſtributed, keeps it from inclining to one ſide more than another, but when the power came to be all collected into one part, having nothing to counterbalance it,

* It was not at the time of Cicero's going into exile that Cæſar returned from his province of Spain, which he had governed with the title of prætor, but two years before. Cæſar returned in the year of Rome 693, and Cicero quitted Rome in the year 695.

it, it overſet and deſtroyed the commonwealth. Hence it was, that when ſome were obſerving that the conſtitution was ruined by the difference which happened afterwards between Cæſar and Pompey, Cato ſaid, "You are under "a great miſtake: It was not their late diſagreement, but "their former union and connection which gave the conſti- "tion the firſt and greateſt blow."

To this union Cæſar owed his conſulſhip: And he was no ſooner appointed than he began to make his court to the indigent part of the people, by propoſing laws for ſending out colonies, and for the diſtribution of lands; by which he deſcended from the dignity of a conſul, and in ſome ſort took upon him the office of a tribune. His colleague Bibulus oppoſed him, and Cato prepared to ſupport Bibulus in the moſt ſtrenuous manner; when Cæſar placed Pompey by him upon the tribunal, and aſked him, before the whole aſſembly, "Whether he approved his laws?" and upon his anſwering in the affirmative, he put this farther queſtion, "Then if any one ſhall with violence op- "poſe theſe laws, will you come to the aſſiſtance of the "people." Pompey anſwered, "I will certainly come; "and againſt thoſe who threaten to take the ſword, I will "bring both ſword and buckler."

Pompey till that day had never ſaid any thing ſo obnoxious; and his friends could only ſay, by way of apology, that it was an expreſſion which had eſcaped him. But it appeared by the ſubſequent events, that he was then entirely at Cæſar's devotion. For within a few days, to the ſurpriſe of all the world, he married Julia, Cæſar's daughter, who had been promiſed to Cæpio, and was upon the point of being married to him. To appeaſe the reſentment of Cæpio, he gave him his own daughter, who had been before contracted to Fauſtus, the ſon of Sylla; and Cæſar married Calpurnia, the daughter of Piſo.

Pompey then filled the city with ſoldiers, and carried every thing with open force. Upon Bibulus the conſul's making his appearance in the *forum*, together with Lucullus and Cato, the ſoldiers ſuddenly fell upon him, and broke his *faſces*. Nay, one of them had the impudence to empty a baſket of dung upon the head of Bibulus; and two tribunes of the people who accompanied him, were wounded. The *forum* thus cleared of all oppoſition, the law paſſed for the diviſion of lands. The people, caught

by

by this bait became tame and tractable in all respects, and without questioning the expediency of any of their measures, silently gave their suffrages to whatever was proposed. The acts of Pompey, which Lucullus had contested, were confirmed; and the two Gauls on this and the other side the Alps and Illyria, were allotted to Cæsar for five years, with four complete legions. At the same time Piso, Cæsar's father-in-law, and Gabinius, one of the most abandoned flatterers of Pompey, were pitched upon for consuls for the ensuing year.

Bibulus finding matters thus carried, shut himself up in his house, and for the eight following months remained inattentive to the functions of his office *; contenting himself with publishing manifestos full of bitter invectives against Pompey and Cæsar. Cato, on this occasion, as if inspired with a spirit of prophecy, announced in full senate the calamities which would befal the commonwealth and Pompey himself. Lucullus, for his part, gave up all thoughts of state affairs, and betook himself to repose, as if age had disqualified him for the concerns of government. Upon which Pompey observed, "That "it was more unseasonable for an old man to give himself "up to luxury, than to bear a public employment." Yet, notwithstanding this observation, he soon suffered himself to be effeminated by the love of a young woman; he gave up his time to her; he spent the day with her in his villas and gardens, to the entire neglect of public affairs; insomuch that Clodius the tribune began to despise him, and to engage in the boldest designs against him. For after he had banished Cicero, and sent Cato to Cyprus, under pretence of giving him the command in that island; when Cæsar was gone upon his expedition into Gaul, and the tribune found the people entirely devoted to him, because he flattered their inclinations in all the measures he took, he attempted to annul some of Pompey's ordinances; he took his prisoner Tigranes from him, kept him in his own custody, and impeachrd some of his friends, in order to try in them the strength of Pompey's interest. At last, when Pompey appeared against one of these prosecutions, Clodius having a crew of profligate and insolent wretches about

* Hence the wits of Rome, instead of saying, such a thing happened in the consulship of Cæsar and Bibulus, said, it happened in the consulship of Julius and Cæsar.

about him, afcended an eminence, and put the following queftions, "Who is the licentious lord of Rome? Who is "the man that feeks for a man *? Who fcratches his "head with one finger †?" And his creatures, like a chorus inftructed in their part, upon his fhaking his gown, anfwered aloud to every queftion, *Pompey* ‡.

Thefe things gave Pompey uneafinefs, becaufe it was a new thing to him to be fpoken ill of, and he was entirely unexperienced in that fort of war. That which afflicted him moft, was his perceiving that the fenate were pleafed to fee him the object of reproach, and punifhed for his defertion of Cicero. But when parties ran fo high that they came to blows in the *forum*, and feveral were wounded on both fides, and one of the fervants of Clodius was obferved to creep in among the crowd, towards Pompey, with a drawn fword in his hand, he was furnifhed with an excufe for not attending the public affemblies. Befides, he was really afraid to ftand the impudence of Clodius, and all the torrent of abufe that might be expected from him, and therefore made his appearance no more during his tribunefhip, but confulted in private with his friends how to difarm the anger of the fenate, and the valauble part of the citizens. Culleo advifed him to repudiate Julia, and to exchange the friendfhip of Cæfar for that of the fenate; but he would not hearken to the propofal. Others propofed that he fhould recal Cicero, who was not only an avowed enemy to Clodius, but the favourite of the fenate; and he agreed to that overture. Accordingly, with a ftrong body of his retainers, he conducted Cicero's brother into the *forum*, who was to apply to the people in his behalf, and after a fcuffle, in which feveral were wounded, and fome flain, he overpowered Clodius, and obtained a decree for the reftoration of Cicero. Immediately upon his return, the

* *Τις ανηρ ζητει ανδρα. Ζητειν ανδρα* was a proverbial expreffion brought from Athens to Rome. It was taken originally from Æfop's feeking an honeft man with a lanthorn at noon-day; and, by degrees, it came to fignify the lofs of manhood, or the manly character, which lofs Pompey was allowed to have fuftained in the embraces of Julia.

† *Uno fcalpere Digito* was likewife a proverbial expreffion for a Roman *petit maitre.*

‡ Plutarch does not here keep exactly to the order of time. This happened in the year of Rome 697, as appears from Dio, (Book xxxix.) that is, two years after what he is going to mention concerning that tribune's flave being taken with a fword.

the orator reconciled the ſenate to Pompey, and by effectually recommending the law which was to entruſt him with the care of ſupplying Rome with corn *, he made Pompey once more maſter of the Roman empire, both by ſea and land. For by this law the ports, the markets, the diſpoſal of proviſions, in a word, the whole buſineſs of the merchant and the huſbandman, were brought under his juriſdiction.

Clodius, on the other hand, alleged, "That the law "was not made on account of the real ſcarcity of pro-"viſions, but that an artificial ſcarcity was cauſed for the "ſake of procuring the law, and that Pompey, by a new "commiſſion, might bring his power to life again, which "was ſunk, as it were, in a *deliquium*." Others ſay, it was the contrivance of the conſul Spinther, to procure Pompey a ſuperior employment, that he might himſelf be ſent to re-eſtabliſh Ptolemy in his kingdom †.

However, the tribune Canidius brought in a bill, the purport of which was, that Pompey ſhould be ſent without an army, and only with two *lictors*, to reconcile the Alexandrians to their king. Pompey did not appear diſpleaſed at the bill; but the ſenate threw it out, under the honourable pretence of not hazarding his perſon. Neverthleſs, papers were found ſcattered in the *forum* and before the ſenate-houſe, importing that Ptolemy himſelf deſired that Pompey might be employed to act for him inſtead of Spinther. Timagenes pretends, that Ptolemy left Egypt without any neceſſity, at the perſuaſion of Theophanes, who was deſirous to give Pompey new occaſions to enrich himſelf and the honour of new commands. But the baſeneſs of Theophanes does not ſo much ſupport this ſtory, as the diſpoſition of Pompey diſcredits it; for there was nothing ſo mean and illiberal in his ambition.

The whole care of providing and importing corn being committed to Pompey, he ſent his deputies and agents into various parts, and went in perſon into Sicily, Sardinia, and Africa, where he collected great quantities. When he

* The law alſo gave Pompey proconſular authority for five years, both in and out of Italy. Dio, lib. xxxix.

† Ptolemy Auletes, the ſon of Ptolemy Lathyrus, hated by his ſubjects, and forced to fly, applied to the conſul Spinther, who was to have the province of Cilicia, to re-eſtabliſh him in his kingdom. Dio, *ubi ſupra*.

he was upon the point of re-embarking, a violent wind ſprung up, and the mariners made a difficulty of putting to ſea; but he was the firſt to go on board, and he ordered them to weigh anchor, with theſe deciſive words, "It is "neceſſary to go; it is not neceſſary to live." His ſucceſs was anſwerable to his ſpirit and intrepidity. He filled the markets with corn, and covered the ſea with his ſhips; inſomuch that the overplus afforded a ſupply to foreigners, and from Rome, as from a fountain, plenty flowed over the world.

In the mean time the wars in Gaul lifted Cæſar to the firſt ſphere of greatneſs. The ſcene of action was at a great diſtance from Rome, and he ſeemed to be wholly engaged with the Belgæ, the Suevi, and the Britons; but his genius all the while was privately at work among the people of Rome, and he was undermining Pompey in his moſt eſſential intereſts. His war with the barbarians was not his principal object. He exerciſed his army, indeed, in thoſe expeditions, as he would have done his own body, in hunting and other diverſions of the field; by which he prepared them for higher conflicts, and rendered them not only formidable but invincible.

The gold and ſilver, and other rich ſpoils which he took from the enemy in great abundance, he ſent to Rome; and by diſtributing them freely among the ædiles, prætors, conſuls, and their wives, he gained a great party. Conſequently when he paſſed the Alps and wintered at Lucca, among the crowd of men and women, who haſtened to pay their reſpects to him, there were two hundred ſenators, Pompey and Craſſus of the number; and there were no fewer than a hundred and twenty proconſuls and prætors, whoſe *faſces* were to be ſeen at the gates of Cæſar. He made it his buſineſs in general to give them hopes of great things, and his money was at their devotion; but he entered into a treaty with Craſſus and Pompey, by which it was agreed that they ſhould apply for the conſulſhip, and that Cæſar ſhould aſſiſt them, by ſending a great number of his ſoldiers to vote at the election. As ſoon as they were choſen, they were to ſhare the provinces, and take the command of armies, according to their pleaſure, only confirming Cæſar in the poſſeſſion of what he had, for five years more.

As ſoon as this treaty got air, the principal perſons in Rome were highly offended at it. Marcellinus, then conſul, planted himſelf amidſt the people, and aſked Pompey and Craſſus, "Whether they intended to ſtand for the "conſulſhip." Pompey ſpoke firſt, and ſaid *, "Perhaps he might, perhaps he might not." Craſſus anſwered, with more moderation, "He ſhould do what "might appear moſt expedient for the commonwealth." As Marcellinus continued the diſcourſe againſt Pompey, and ſeemed to bear hard upon him, Pompey ſaid, "Where "is the honour of that man, who has neither gratitude "nor reſpect for him who made him an orator, who reſ"cued him from want, and raiſed him to affluence?"

Others declined ſoliciting the conſulſhip, but Lucius Domitius was perſuaded and encouraged by Cato not to give it up. "For the diſpute," he told him, "was not "for the conſulſhip, but in defence of liberty againſt ty"rants." Pompey and his adherents ſaw the vigour with which Cato acted, and that all the ſenate was on his ſide. Conſequently they were afraid that, ſo ſupported, he might bring over the uncorrupted part of the people. They reſolved, therefore, not to ſuffer Domitius to enter the *forum*, and ſent a party of men well armed, who killed Melitus, the torch-bearer, and put the reſt to flight. Cato retired the laſt, and not till after he had received a wound in his right elbow in defending Domitius.

Thus they obtained the conſulſhip by violence, and the reſt of their meaſures were not conducted with more moderation. For, in the firſt place, when the people were going to chooſe Cato prætor, at the inſtant their ſuffrages were to be taken, Pompey diſmiſſed the aſſembly, pretending he had ſeen an inauſpicious flight of birds †. Afterwards the tribes, corrupted with money, declared Antias and Vatinius prætors. Then, in purſuance of their agreement

* Dio makes him return an anſwer more ſuitable to his character— "It is not on account of the virtuous and the good that I deſire any "ſhare in the magiſtracy, but that I may be able to reſtrain the ill"diſpoſed and the ſeditious."

† This was making religion merely an engine of ſtate, and it often proved a very convenient one for the purpoſes of ambition. Clodius, though otherwiſe one of the vileſt tribunes that ever exiſted, was very right in attempting to put a ſtop to that means of diſmiſſing an aſſembly. He preferred a bill, that no magiſtrate ſhould make any obſervations in the heavens while the people were aſſembled.

agreement with Cæſar, they put Trebonius, one of the tribunes, on propoſing a decree, by which the government of the Gauls was continued for five years more to Cæſar; Syria, and the command againſt the Parthians, were given to Craſſus; and Pompey was to have all Africa, and both the Spains, with four legions, two of which he lent to Cæſar, at his requeſt, for the war in Gaul.

Craſſus, upon the expiration of his conſulſhip, repaired to his province. Pompey, remaining at Rome, opened his theatre; and, to make the dedication more magnificent, exhibited a variety of gymnaſtic games, entertainments of muſic, and battles with wild beaſts, in which were killed five hundred lions; but the battle of elephants afforded the moſt aſtoniſhing ſpectacle*. Theſe things gained him the love and admiration of the public; but he incurred their diſpleaſure again, by leaving his provinces and armies entirely to his friends and lieutenants, and roving about Italy with his wife from one villa to another. Whether it was his paſſion for her, or hers for him, that kept him ſo much with her, is uncertain. For the latter has been ſuppoſed to be the caſe, and nothing was more talked of than the fondneſs of that young woman for her huſband, though at that age his perſon could hardly be any great object of deſire. But the charm of his fidelity was the cauſe, together with his converſation, which, notwithſtanding his natural gravity, was particularly agreeable to the women, if we may allow the courtezan Flora to be a ſufficient evidence. This ſtrong attachment of Julia appeared on occaſion of an election of ædiles. The people came to blows, and ſome were killed ſo near Pompey, that he was covered with blood, and forced to change his clothes. There was a great crowd and tumult about his door, when his ſervants went home with the bloody robe; and Julia, who was with child, happening to ſee it, fainted away, and was with difficulty recovered. However, ſuch was her terror and the agitation of her ſpirits, that ſhe miſcarried. After this, thoſe who complained moſt of Pompey's

* Dio ſays, the elephants fought with armed men. There were no leſs than eighteen of them; and he adds, that ſome of them ſeemed to appeal, with piteous cries, to the people; who, in compaſſion, ſaved their lives. If we may believe him, an oath had been taken before they left Africa, that no injury ſhould be done them.

pey's connection with Cæſar, could not find fault with his love of Julia. She was pregnant afterwards, and brought him a daughter, but unfortunately died in child-bed; nor did the child long ſurvive her. Pompey was preparing to bury her near a ſeat of his at Alba, but the people ſeized the corpſe, and interred it in the *Campus Martius*. This they did more out of regard to the young woman, than either to Pompey or Cæſar; yet in the honours they did her remains, their attachment to Cæſar, though at a diſtance, had a greater ſhare, than any reſpect for Pompey, who was on the ſpot.

Immediately after Julia's death, the people of Rome were in great agitation, and there was nothing in their ſpeeches and actions which did not tend to a rupture. The alliance, which rather covered than reſtrained the ambition, of the two great competitors for power, was now no more. To add to the misfortune, news was brought ſoon after, that Craſſus was ſlain by the Parthians; and in him another great obſtacle to a civil war was removed. Out of fear of him, they had both kept ſome meaſures with each other. But when fortune had carried off the champion who could take up the conqueror, we may ſay with the comic poet,

——High ſpirit of emprize
Elates each chief; they oil their brawny limbs,
And dip their hands in duſt.——

So little able is fortune to fill the capacities of the human mind; when ſuch a weight * of power, and extent of command, could not ſatisfy the ambition of two men. They had heard and read that the gods had divided the univerſe into three ſhares, and each was content with that which fell to his lot, and yet theſe men could not think† the Roman empire ſufficient for two of them.

Yet

* *Weight* is not the literal ſignification of βαθος, but as near as we could bring it; for, depth of power would not ſound well in Engliſh. Τοσȣτον βαθος ἡγεμονιας is an expreſſion ſimilar to that of St. Paul, Rom. xi. 33. Ὦ ΒΑΘΟΣ πλȣτȣ και σοφιας και γνωμης Θεȣ.

† Plutarch alludes here to a paſſage in the fifteenth book of the Iliad, where Neptune ſays to Iris,

"Aſſign'd by lot our triple rule we know;
"Infernal Pluto ſways the ſhades below;
"O'er the wide clouds, and o'er the ſtarry plain,
"Ethereal Jove extends his high domain:
"My court beneath the hoary waves I keep,
"And huſh the roarings of the ſacred deep." POPE.

Yet Pompey, in an addreſs to the people at that time, told them, "He had received every commiſſion they had "honoured him with, ſooner than he expected himſelf; "and laid it down ſooner than was expected by the "world." And, indeed, the diſmiſſion of his troops always bore witneſs to the truth of that aſſertion. But now being perſuaded that Cæſar would not diſband his army, he endeavoured to fortify himſelf againſt him by great employments at home; and this without attempting any other innovation. For he would not appear to diſtruſt him; on the contrary, he rather affected to deſpiſe him. However, when he ſaw the great offices of ſtate not diſpoſed of agreeably to his deſire, but that the people were influenced, and his adverſaries preferred for money, he thought it would beſt ſerve his cauſe to ſuffer anarchy to prevail. In conſequence of the reigning diſorders, a dictator was much talked of. Lucilius, one of the tribunes, was the firſt who ventured to propoſe it in form to the people, and he exhorted them to chooſe Pompey dictator. Cato oppoſed it ſo effectually, that the tribune was in danger of being depoſed. Many of Pompey's friends then ſtood up in defence of the purity of his intentions, and declared, he neither aſked nor wiſhed for the dictatorſhip. Cato, upon this, paid the higheſt compliments to Pompey, and intreated him to aſſiſt in the ſupport of order and of the conſtitution. Pompey could not but accede to ſuch a propoſal, and Domitius and Meſſala were elected conſuls *.

The ſame anarchy and confuſion afterwards took place again, and numbers began to talk more boldly of ſetting up a dictator. Cato, now fearing he ſhould be overborne, was of opinion that it was better to give Pompey ſome office whoſe authority was limited by law, than to entruſt him with abſolute power. Bibulus, though Pompey's declared enemy, moved in full ſenate, that he ſhould be appointed ſole conſul. "For by that means," ſaid he, "the "commonwealth will either recover from her diſorder, or,

* In the year of Rome 700. Such corruption now prevailed among the Romans, that candidates for the curule offices brought their money openly to the place of election, where they diſtributed it, without bluſhing, among the heads of factions; and thoſe who received it, employed force and violence in favour of thoſe perſons who paid them; ſo that ſcarce any office was diſpoſed of but what had been diſputed with the ſword, and coſt the lives of many citizens.

" or, if ſhe muſt ſerve, will ſerve a man of the greateſt " merit." The whole houſe was ſurpriſed at the motion; and when Cato roſe up, it was expected he would oppoſe it. A profound ſilence enſued, and he ſaid, " He ſhould " never have been the firſt to oppoſe ſuch an expe- " dient, but as it was propoſed by another, he thought " it adviſeable to embrace it; for he thought any kind of " government better than anarchy, and knew no man fitter " to rule than Pompey, in a time of ſo much trouble." The ſenate came into his opinion, and a decree was iſſued, that Pompey ſhould be appointed ſole conſul, and that if he ſhould have need of a colleague, he might chooſe one himſelf, provided it were not before the expiration of two months.

Pompey being declared ſole conſul by the *Interrex* Sulpitius, made his compliments to Cato, acknowledged himſelf much indebted to his ſupport, and deſired his aſſiſtance and advice in the cabinet, as to the meaſures to be purſued in his adminiſtration. Cato made anſwer, " That " Pompey was not under the leaſt obligation to him; for " what he had ſaid, was not out of regard to him, but to " his country. If you apply to me," continued he, " I " ſhall give you my advice in private; if not, I ſhall in- " form you of my ſentiments in public." Such was Cato, and the ſame on all occaſions.

Pompey then went into the city, and married Cornelia, the daughter of Metellus Scipio *. She was not a virgin, but a widow, having been married when very young, to Publius the ſon of Craſſus, who was lately killed in the Parthian expedition. This woman had many charms beſide her beauty. She was well verſed in polite literature; ſhe played upon the lyre, and underſtood geometry; and ſhe had made conſiderable improvements by the precepts of philoſophy. What is more, ſhe had nothing of that petulance and affectation, which ſuch ſtudies are apt to produce in women of her age. And her father's family and reputation were unexceptionable.

Many, however, were diſpleaſed with this match, on account of the diſproportion of years; they thought Cornelia would have been more ſuitable to his ſon than to him. Thoſe that were capable of deeper reflection, thought the concerns

* The ſon of Scipio Naſica, but adopted into the family of the Metelli.

concerns of the commonwealth neglected, which in a diſtreſsful caſe had choſen him for its phyſician, and confided in him alone. It grieved them to ſee him crowned with garlands, and offering ſacrifice amidſt the feſtivities of marriage, when he ought to have conſidered his conſulſhip as a public calamity, ſince it would never have been given him in a manner ſo contrary to the laws, had his country been in a proſperous ſituation.

His firſt ſtep was to bring thoſe to account who gained offices and employments by bribery and corruption, and he made laws by which the proceedings in their trials were to be regulated. In other reſpects he behaved with great dignity and honour; and reſtored ſecurity, order, and tranquillity, to the courts of judicature, by preſiding there in perſon with a band of ſoldiers. But when Scipio, his father-in-law, came to be impeached, he ſent for the three hundred and ſixty judges to his houſe, and deſired their aſſiſtance. The accuſer, ſeeing Scipio conducted out of the *forum* to his houſe, by the judges themſelves, dropped the proſecution. This again expoſed Pompey to cenſure; but he was cenſured ſtill more, when after having made a law againſt encomiums on perſons accuſed, he broke it himſelf, by appearing for Plancus, and attempting to embelliſh his character. Cato, who happened to be one of the judges, ſtopped his ears; declaring, "It was not "right for him to hear ſuch embelliſhments, contrary to "law." Cato, therefore, was objected to and ſet aſide before ſentence was paſſed. Plancus, however, was condemned by the other judges, to the great confuſion of Pompey.

A few days after, Hypſæus, a man of conſular dignity, being under a criminal proſecution, watched Pompey's going from the bath to ſupper, and embraced his knees in the moſt ſuppliant manner. But Pompey paſſed with diſdain, and all the anſwer he gave him, was, "That his "importunities ſerved only to ſpoil his ſupper." This partial and unequal behaviour was juſtly the object of reproach. But all the reſt of his conduct merited praiſe, and he had the happineſs to re-eſtabliſh good order in the commonwealth. He took his father-in-law for his colleague the

* Cicero, who managed the impeachment, was much delighted with the ſucceſs of his eloquence; as appears from his epiſtle to Marius, lib. vii. ep. 2.

the remaining five months. His governments were continued to him for four years more, and he was allowed a thousand talents a-year for the subsistence and pay of his troops.

Cæsar's friends laid hold on this occasion to represent, that some consideration should be had of him, too, and his many great and laborious services for his country. They said, he certainly deserved either another consulship, or to have the term of his commission prolonged; that he might keep the command in the provinces he had conquered, and enjoy, undisturbed, the honours he had won, and that no successor might rob him of the fruit of his labours, or the glory of his actions. A dispute arising upon the affair, Pompey, as if inclined to fence against the odium to which Cæsar might be exposed by this demand, said, he had letters from Cæsar, in which he delared himself willing to accept a successor, and to give up the command in Gaul; only he thought it reasonable that he should be permitted, though absent, to stand for the consulship *. Cato opposed this with all his force, and insisted, "That "Cæsar should lay down his arms, and return as a private "man, if he had any favour to ask of his country." And as Pompey did not labour the point, but easily acquiesced, it was suspected he had no real friendship for Cæsar. This appeared more clearly, when he sent for the two legions which he had lent him, under pretence of wanting them for the Parthian war. Cæsar, though he well knew for what purpose the legions were demanded, sent them home laden with rich presents.

After this, Pompey had a dangerous illness at Naples, of which, however, he recovered. Praxagoras then advised the Neapolitans to offer sacrifices to the gods, in gratitude for his recovery. The neighbouring cities followed their example; and the humour spreading itself over Italy, there was not a town, or village, which did not solemnize the occasion with festivals. No place could afford room for the crowds that came in from all quarters to meet him; the high roads, the villages, the ports were filled with sacrifices and entertainments. Many received him with garlands on their heads and torches in their hands, and, as

* There was a law against any absent person's being admitted a candidate; but Pompey had added a clause which impowered the people to except any man by name from personal attendance.

as they conducted him on his way, strewed it with flowers. His returning with such pomp, afforded a glorious spectacle; but it is said to have been one of the principal causes of the civil war. For the joy he conceived on this occasion, added to the high opinion he had of his achievements, intoxicated him so far, that, bidding adieu to the caution and prudence which had put his good fortune and the glory of his actions upon a sure footing, he gave into the most extravagant presumption, and even contempt of Cæsar; insomuch, that he declared, "He had no need of "arms, or any extraordinary preparations against him, "since he could pull him down with much more ease than "he had set him up."

Besides, when Appius returned from Gaul with the legions which had been lent to Cæsar, he endeavoured to disparage the actions of that general, and to represent him in a mean light. "Pompey," he said, "knew not his own "strength and the influence of his name, if he sought any "other defence against Cæsar, upon whom his own forces "would turn, as soon as they saw the former; such was "their hatred of the one, and their affection for the "other."

Pompey was so much elated at this account, and his confidence made him so extremely negligent, that he laughed at those who seemed to fear the war. And when they said, that if Cæsar should advance in a hostile manner to Rome, they did not see what forces they had to oppose him, he bade them, with an open and smiling countenance, give themselves no pain: "For, if in Italy," said he, "I do but stamp upon the ground, an army will "appear."

Meantime Cæsar was exerting himself greatly. He was now at no great distance from Italy, and not only sent his soldiers to vote in the elections, but, by private pecuniary applications, corrupted many of the magistrates. Paulus the Consul, was of the number, and he had fifteen hundred talents* for changing sides. So were also Curio, one of the Tribunes of the people, for whom he paid off an immense debt, and Mark Antony, who, out of friendship for Curio, had stood engaged with him for the debt.

* 310,685*l.* sterling. With this money he built the stately *Basilica*, that afterwards bore his name.

It is ſaid, that when one of Cæſar's officers, who ſtood before the ſenate-houſe, waiting the iſſue of the debates, was informed, that they would not give Cæſar a longer term in his command, he laid his hand upon his ſword, and ſaid, "But this ſhall give it."

Indeed, all the actions and preparations of his general tended that way: Though Curio's demands in behalf of Cæſar ſeemed more plauſible. He propoſed, that either Pompey ſhould likewiſe be obliged to diſmiſs his forces, or Cæſar ſuffered to keep his. "If they are both reduced "to a private ſtation," ſaid he, "they will agree upon rea-"ſonable terms; or, if each retains his reſpective power, "they will be ſatisfied. But he who weakens the one, "without doing the ſame by the other, muſt double that "force which he fears will ſubvert the government*."

Hereupon, Marcellus the conſul called Cæſar a public robber, and inſiſted, that he ſhould be declared an enemy to the ſtate, if he did not lay down his arms. However, Curio, together with Antony and Piſo, prevailed that a farther inquiry ſhould be made into the ſenſe of the ſenate. He firſt propoſed, that ſuch as were of opinion, "That "Cæſar ſhould diſband his army, and Pompey keep his," ſhould draw to one ſide of the houſe, and there appeared a majority for that motion. Then he propoſed, that the number of thoſe ſhould be taken, whoſe ſenſe it was, "That both ſhould lay down their arms, and neither re-"main in command;" upon which queſtion, Pompey had only twenty-two, and Curio all the reſt†. Curio, proud of his victory, ran in tranſports of joy to the aſſembly of the people, who received him with the loudeſt plaudits, and crowned him with flowers. Pompey was not preſent at the debate in the houſe; for the commander of an army is not allowed to enter the city. But Marcellus roſe up and ſaid, "I will no longer ſit to hear the "matter canvaſſed; but, as I ſee ten legions have already "paſſed the Alps, I will ſend a man to oppoſe them in "behalf of my country."

Upon

* Cornelius Scipio, one of Pompey's friends, remonſtrated, that, in the preſent caſe, a great difference was to be made between the proconſul of Spain and the proconſul of Gaul, ſince the term of the former was not expired, whereas that of the latter was.

† Dio, on the contrary, affirms that, upon this queſtion, the ſenate were almoſt unanimous for Pompey; only two voting for Cæſar, viz. Marcus Cæcilius and Curio.

Upon this, the city went into mourning, as in a time of public calamity. Marcellus walked throug the *forum*, followed by the ſenate, and when he was in ſight of Pompey without the gate, he ſaid, " Pompey, I charge you to " aſſiſt your country; for which purpoſe you ſhall make " uſe of the troops you have, and levy what new ones you " pleaſe." Lentulus, one of the conſuls elect for the next year, ſaid the ſame. But when Pompey came to make the new levies, ſome abſolutely refuſed to enliſt; others gave in their names in ſmall numbers and with no ſpirit; and the greateſt part cried out, " A peace! A peace!" For Antony, notwithſtanding the injunctions of the ſenate to the contrary, had read a letter of Cæſar's to the people, well calculated to gain them. He propoſed, that both Pompey and he ſhould reſign their governments and diſmiſs their forces, and then come and give account of their conduct to the people.

Lentulus, who by this time had entered upon his office, would not aſſemble the ſenate; for Cicero, who was now returned from his government in Cilicia, endeavoured to bring about a reconciliation. He propoſed, that Cæſar ſhould give up Gaul, and diſband the greateſt part of his army, and keeping only two legions and the province of Illyricum, wait for another conſulſhip. As Pompey received this propoſal very ill, Cæſar's friends were perſuaded to agree, that he ſhould keep only one of thoſe two legions. But Lentulus was againſt it, and Cato cried out, " That " Pompey was committing a ſecond error, in ſuffering him- " ſelf to be ſo impoſed upon;" the reconciliation, therefore, did not take effect.

At the ſame time news was brought, that Cæſar had ſeized Arminium, a conſiderable city in Italy, and that he was marching directly towards Rome with all his forces. The laſt circumſtance, indeed, was not true. He advanced with only three hundred horſe and five thouſand foot; the reſt of his forces were on the other ſide the Alps, and he would not wait for them, chooſing rather to put his adverſaries in confuſion by a ſudden and unexpected attack, than to fight them when better prepared. When he came to the river Rubicon, which was the boundary of his province, he ſtood ſilent a long time, weighing with himſelf the greatneſs of his enterprize. At laſt, like one who plunges down from the top of a precipice into a gulph of immenſe

immenſe depth, he ſilenced his reaſon, and ſhut his eyes againſt the danger; and crying out, in the Greek language "The die is caſt," he marched over with his army.

Upon the firſt report of this at Rome, the city was in greater diſorder and aſtoniſhment than had ever been known. The ſenate and the magiſtrates ran immediately to Pompey. Tullus aſked him *, what forces he had ready for the war; and as he heſitated in his anſwer, and only ſaid at laſt, in a tone of no great aſſurance, "That he "had the two legions lately ſent him back by Cæſar, and "that out of the new levies he believed he ſhould ſhortly "be able to make up a body of thirty thouſand men;" Tullus exclaimed, "O Pompey, you have deceived us!" and gave it as his opinion, that ambaſſadors ſhould immediately be deſpatched to Cæſar. Then one Favonius, a man otherwiſe of no ill character, but who, by an inſolent brutality, affected to imitate the noble freedom of Cato, bade Pompey "Stamp upon the ground, and call forth "the armies he had promiſed."

Pompey bore this ill-timed reproach with great mildneſs; and when Cato put him in mind of the warnings he had given him, as to Cæſar, from the firſt, he ſaid, "Cato, indeed, had ſpoken more like a prophet, and *he* "had acted more like a friend." Cato then adviſed that Pompey ſhould not only be appointed general, but inveſted with a diſcretionary power: adding, that "thoſe who "were the authors of great evils, knew beſt how to cure "them." So ſaying, he ſet out for his province of Sicily, and the other great officers departed for theirs.

Almoſt all Italy was now in motion, and nothing could be more perplexed than the whole face of things. Thoſe who lived out of Rome, fled to it from all quarters, and thoſe who lived in it, abandoned it as faſt. Theſe ſaw, that in ſuch a tempeſtuous and diſorderly ſtate of affairs, the well-diſpoſed part of the city wanted ſtrength, and that the ill-diſpoſed were ſo refractory that they could not be managed by the magiſtrates. The terrors of the people could not be removed, and no one would ſuffer Pompey to lay a plan of action for himſelf. According to the paſſion wherewith each was actuated, whether fear, ſorrow, or doubt, they endeavoured to inſpire him with the ſame; inſomuch

* Lucius Volcatius Tullus.

insomuch that he adopted different measures the same day. He could gain no certain intelligence of the enemy's motions, because every man brought him the report he happened to take up, and was angry if it did not meet with credit.

Pompey, at last, caused it to be declared by an edict in form, that the commonwealth was in danger, and no peace to be expected*. After which, he signified that he should look upon those who remained in the city as the partizans of Cæsar; and then quitted it in the dusk of the evening. The consuls also fled, without offering the sacrifices which their customs required before a war. However, in this great extremity, Pompey could not but be considered as happy in the affections of his countrymen. Though many blamed the war, there was not a man who hated the general. Nay, the number of those who followed him, out of attachment to his person, was greater than that of the adventurers in the cause of liberty.

A few days after, Cæsar arrived at Rome. When he was in possession of the city, he behaved with great moderation in many respects, and composed, in a good measure, the minds of its remaining inhabitants. Only when Metellus, one of the tribunes of the people, forbad him to touch the money in the public treasury, he threatened him with death, adding an expression more terrible than the threat itself, "That is was easier for him to do "it than to say it." Metellus being thus frightened off, Cæsar took what sums he wanted, and then went in pursuit of Pompey; hastening to drive him out of Italy, before his forces could arrive from Spain.

Pompey, who was master of Brundusium, and had a sufficient number of transports, desired the consuls to embark without loss of time, and sent them before him with thirty cohorts to Dyrrhachium. At the same time he sent his father-in-law Scipio and his son Cnæus into Syria, to provide ships of war. He had well-secured the gates of the city, and planted the lightest of his slingers and archers upon the walls; and having now ordered the Brundusians

* The Latin word, *tumultus*, which Plutarch has rendered ταραχη, is a very incomprehensive one. The Romans did not care to call the commotions which happened among them, or near them, before direct hostilities were commenced, by the name of war; they distinguished them by the name of *tumultus*.

duſians to keep within doors, he cauſed a number of trenches to be cut, and ſharp ſtakes to be driven into them, and then covered with earth, in all the ſtreets, except two which led down to the ſea. In three days all his other troops were embarked without interruption; and then he ſuddenly gave the ſignal to thoſe who guarded the walls; in conſequence of which, they ran ſwiftly down to the harbour, and got on board. Thus having his whole complement, he ſet ſail, and croſſed the ſea to Dyrrhachium.

When Cæſar came and ſaw the walls left deſtitute of defence*, he concluded that Pompey had taken to flight, and, in his eagerneſs to purſue, would certainly have fallen upon the ſharp ſtakes in the trenches, had not the Brunduſians informed him of them. He then avoided the ſtreets †, and took a circuit round the town, by which he diſcovered that all the veſſels were ſet out, except two that had not many ſoldiers aboard.

This manœuvre of Pompey was commonly reckoned among the greateſt acts of generalſhip. Cæſar, however, could not help wondering, that his adverſary, who was in poſſeſſion of a fortified town, and expected his forces from Spain, and at the ſame time was maſter of the ſea, ſhould give up Italy in ſuch a manner. Cicero ‡, too, blamed him, for imitating the conduct of Themiſtocles, rather than that of Pericles, when the poſture of his affairs more reſembled the circumſtances of the latter. On the other hand, the ſteps which Cæſar took ſhewed he was afraid of having the war drawn out to any length: For having taken Numerius ||, a friend of Pompey's, he had ſent him to Brunduſium, with offers of coming to an accommodation upon reaſonable terms. But Numerius, inſtead of returning with an anſwer, ſailed away with Pomey.

Cæſar thus made himſelf maſter of all Italy in ſixty days without the leaſt bloodſhed, and he would have been glad

* Cæſar beſieged the place nine days, during which he not only inveſted it on the land-ſide, but untertook to ſhut up the port by a *ſtaccado* of his own invention. However, before the work could be completed, Pompey made his eſcape.

† Φυλαττομενος την πολιν, και κυκλω περιων, perhaps means, "That he avoided the principal ſtreets, and came by many windings "and turnings to the haven."

‡ Ep. to Atticus, vii. 11.

|| Cæſar calls him *Cn. Magius*. He was Maſter of Pompey's Board of Works.

glad to have gone immediately in purſuit of Pompey. But as he was in want of ſhipping, he gave up that deſign for the preſent, and marched to Spain, with an intent to gain the forces there.

In the mean time Pompey aſſembled a great army; and at ſea he was altogether invincible. For he had five hundred ſhips of war, and the number of his lighter veſſels was ſtill greater. As for his land-forces, he had ſeven thouſand horſe, the flower of Rome and Italy *, all men of family, fortune, and courage. His infantry, though numerous, was a mixture of raw, undiſciplined ſoldiers: He therefore exerciſed them during his ſtay at Berœa, where he was by no means idle, but went through all the exerciſes of a ſoldier, as if he had been in the flower of his age. It inſpired his troops with new courage, when they ſaw Pompey the Great, at the age of fifty-eight, going through the whole military diſcipline, in heavy armour, on foot; and then mounting his horſe, drawing his ſword with eaſe when at full ſpeed, and as dexterouſly ſheathing it again. As to the javelin, he threw it not only with great exactneſs, but with ſuch force, that few of the young men could dart it to a greater diſtance.

Many kings and princes repaired to his camp, and the number of Roman officers who had commanded armies was ſo great, that it was ſufficient to make up a complete ſenate. Labienus †, who had been honoured with Cæſar's friendſhip, and ſerved under him in Gaul, now joined Pompey. Even Brutus, the ſon of that Brutus who was killed

* Cæſar on the contrary ſays, that this body of horſe was almoſt entirely compoſed of ſtrangers. "There were ſix hundred Galatians, "five hundred Cappadocians, as many Thracians, two hundred Mace-"donians, five hundred Gauls, or Germans, eight hundred raiſed out "of his own eſtates, or out of his own retinue;" and ſo of the reſt, whom he particularly mentions, and tells us to what countries they belonged.

† It ſeemed very ſtrange, ſays Dio, that Labienus ſhould abandon Cæſar who had loaded him with honours and given him the command of all the forces on the other ſide of the Alps, while he was at Rome. But he gives this reaſon for it: "Labienus, elated with his "immenſe wealth, and proud of his preferments, forgot himſelf to "ſuch a degree, as to aſſume a character very unbecoming a perſon in "his circumſtances. He was even for putting himſelf upon an equa-"lity with Cæſar, who thereupon grew cool towards him, and treated "him with ſome reſerve, which Labienus reſented, and went over to "Pompey."

killed by him not very fairly in the Cifalpine Gaul*; a man of fpirit, who had never fpoken to Pompey before, becaufe he confidered him as the murderer of his father, now ranged himfelf under his banners, as the defender of the liberties of his country. Cicero too, though he had written and advifed otherwife, was afhamed not to appear in the number of thofe who hazarded their lives for Rome. Tidius Sextius, though extremely old, and maimed of one leg, repaired, among the reft, to his ftandard in Macedonia; and though others only laughed at the poor appearance he made, Pompey no fooner caft his eyes upon him, than he rofe up, and ran to meet him; confidering it as a great proof of the juftice of his caufe, that, in fpite of age and weaknefs, perfons fhould come and feek danger with him, rather than ftay at home in fafety.

But after Pompey had affembled his fenate, and at the motion of Cato, a decree was made, "that no Roman "fhould be killed, except in battle, nor any city that was "fubject to the Romans be plundered," Pompey's party gained ground daily. Thofe who lived at too great a diftance, or were too weak to take a fhare in the war, interefted themfelves in the caufe as much as they were able, and, with words at leaft, contended for it; looking upon thofe as enemies both to the gods and men, who did not wifh that Pompey might conquer.

Not but that Cæfar made a merciful ufe of his victories, He had lately made himfelf mafter of Pompey's forces in Spain, and though it was not without a battle, he difmiffed the officers, and incorporated the troops with his own. After this, he paffed the Alps again, and marched through Italy to Brundufium, where he arrived at the time of the winter folftice. There he croffed the fea, and landed at Oricum; from whence he defpatched Vibullius†, one

* The former Englifh tranflator renders this *Galatia*. He ought to have remembered that this Brutus was killed by Geminius, in a village near the Po, by Pompey's order, after he had accepted his fubmiffion, if not promifed him his life. The authors of the Univerfal Hiftory have copied the error.

† In the printed text it is *Jubius*; but one of the manufcripts gives us *Vibullius*, which is the name he has in Cæfar's Commo. lib. iii. Vibullius Rufus travelled night and day, without allowing himfelf any reft, till he reached Pompey's camp, who had not yet received advice of

one of Pompey's friends, whom he had brought prisoner thither with proposals of a conference between him and Pompey, "in which they should agree to disband their "armies within three days, renew their friendship, con-"firm it with solemn oaths, and then both return to "Italy."

Pompey took this overture for another snare, and therefore drew down in haste to the sea, and secured all the forts and places of strength for land forces as well as all the ports and other commodious stations for shipping; so that there was not a wind that blew, which did not bring him either provisions, or troops, or money. On the other hand, Cæsar was reduced to such straits both by sea and land, that he was under the necessity of seeking a battle.—Accordingly, he attacked Pompey's entrenchments, and bade him defiance daily. In most of these attacks and skirmishes he had the advantage; but one day was in danger of losing his whole army. Pompey fought with so much valour, that he put Cæsar's whole detachment to flight, after having killed two thousand of them upon the spot; but was either unable or afraid to pursue his blow, and enter their camp with them. Cæsar said to his friends on the occasion, "This day the victory had been "the enemy's had their general known how to conquer*."

Pompey's troops, elated with this success, were in great haste to come to a decisive battle. Nay, Pompey himself seemed to give into their opinions by writing to the kings, the generals, and cities, in his interest, in the style of a conqueror. Yet all this while he dreaded the issue of a general action, believing it much better, by length of time, by famine and fatigue, to tire out men who had been

of Cæsar's arrival, but was no sooner informed of the taking of Oricum and Apollonia, than he immediately decamped, and by long marches reached Oricum before Cæsar.

* Yet it may be observed, in defence of Pompey, that as his troops were raw and unexperienced, it was not amiss to try them in many skirmishes and light attacks, before he hazarded a general engagement with an army of veterans. Many instances of that kind might be produced from the conduct of the ablest generals. And we are persuaded, that if Pompey had attempted to force Cæsar's camp, he would have been repulsed with loss and disgrace. Pompey's greatest error seems to have been, his suffering himself to be brought to an action at last by the importunity of his officers and soldiers against his better judgment.

been ever invincible in arms, and long accuſtomed to conquer when they fought together. Beſides, he knew the infirmities of age had made them unfit for the other operations of war, for long marches and countermarches, for digging trenches and building forts, and that, therefore, they wiſhed for nothing ſo much as a battle. Pompey, with all theſe arguments, found it no eaſy matter to keep his army quiet.

After this laſt engagement, Cæſar was in ſuch want of proviſions, that he was forced to decamp, and he took his way through Athamania to Theſſaly. This added ſo much to the high opinion Pompey's ſoldiers had of themſelves, that it was impoſſible to keep it within bounds. They cried out with one voice, "Cæſar is fled." Some called upon the general to purſue: Some, to paſs over to Italy. Others ſent their friends and ſervants to Rome, to engage houſes near the *forum*, for the convenience of ſoliciting the great offices of ſtate. And not a few went of their own accord to Cornelia, who had been privately lodged in Leſbos, to congratulate her upon the concluſion of the war.

On this great emergency, a council of war was called; in which Afranius gave it as his opinion, "That they "ought immediately to regain Italy, for that was the "great prize aimed at in the war. Sicily, Sardinia, "Corſica, Spain, and both the Gauls would ſoon ſubmit "to thoſe who were maſters there. What ſhould affect "Pompey ſtill more was, that his native country juſt by, "ſtretched out her hands to him as a ſuppliant; and it "could not be conſiſtent with his honour to let her remain "under ſuch indignities, and in ſo diſgraceful a vaſſalage "to the ſlaves and flatterers of tyrants." But Pompey thought it would neither be for his reputation, to fly a ſecond time from Cæſar, and again to be purſued, when Fortune put it in his power to purſue; nor agreeable to the laws of piety, to leave his father-in-law Scipio, and many other perſons of conſular dignity in Greece and Theſſaly, a prey to Cæſar, with all their treaſures and forces. As for Rome, he ſhould take the beſt care of her, by fixing the ſcene of war at the greateſt diſtance from her; that, without feeling its calamities, or perhaps hearing the report of them, ſhe might quietly wait for the conqueror.

This

This opinion prevailing, he set out in pursuit of Cæsar, with a resolution not to hazard a battle, but to keep near enough to hold him, as it were, besieged, and to wear him out with famine. This he thought the best method he could take; and a report was, moreover, brought him, of its being whispered among the equestrian order, "That as soon as they had taken off Cæsar, they could "do nothing better than take off him too." Some say, this was the reason why he did not employ Cato in any service of importance, but, upon his march against Cæsar, sent him to the sea-coast to take care of the baggage, lest, after he had destroyed Cæsar, Cato should soon oblige him to lay down his commission.

While he thus softly followed the enemy's steps, a complaint was raised against him, and urged with much clamour, that he was not exercising his generalship upon Cæsar, but upon the senate and the whole commonwealth, in order that he might for ever keep the command in his hands, and have those for his guards and servants, who had a right to govern the world. Domitius Ænobarbus, to increase the *odium*, always called him Agamemnon, or king of kings. Favonius piqued him no less with a jest, than others by their unseasonable severity; he went about crying, "My friends, we shall eat no figs in Tusculum "this year." And Lucius Afranius, who lost the forces in Spain, was accused of having betrayed them into the enemy's hand, now when he saw Pompey avoid a battle, said, "He was surprised that his accusers should make "any difficulty of fighting that merchant, (as they called "him) who trafficked for provinces."

These, and many other like sallies of ridicule, had such an effect upon Pompey, who was ambitious of being spoken well of by the world, and had too much deference for the opinions of his friends, that he gave up his own better judgment, to follow them in the career of their false hopes and prospects. A thing which would have been unpardonable in the pilot or master of a ship, much more in the commander in chief of so many nations, and such numerous armies. He had often commended the physician who gives no indulgence to the whimsical longings of his patients, and yet he humoured the sickly cravings of his army, and was afraid to give them pain, though

though neceſſary for the preſervation of their life and being. For who can ſay that army was in a ſound and healthy ſtate, when ſome of the officers went about the camp canvaſſing for the offices of conſul and prætor; and others, namely Spinther, Domitius, and Scipio, were engaged in quarrels and cabals about Cæſar's highprieſthood, as if their adverſary had been only a Tigranes, a king of Armenia, or a prince of the Nabathæans; and not that Cæſar and that army, who had ſtormed a thouſand cities, ſubdued above three hundred nations, gained numberleſs battles of the Germans and Gauls, taken a million of priſoners, and killed as many fairly in the field. Notwithſtanding all this, they continued loud and tumultuous in their demands of a battle, and when they came to the plains of Pharſalia, forced Pompey to call a council of war. Labienus, who had the command of the cavalry, roſe up firſt, and took an oath, "That he would not return from "the battle, till he had put the enemy to flight." All the other officers ſwore the ſame.

The night following, Pompey had this dream *. He thought, "he entered his own theatre, and was received "with loud plaudits; after which, he adorned the tem-"ple of Venus *the Victorious* with many ſpoils." This viſion, on one ſide, encouraged him, and on another alarmed him. He was afraid that Cæſar, who was a deſcendant of Venus, would be aggrandized at his expence. Beſides, a panic † fear ran through the camp, the noiſe of which awaked him. And about the morning watch, over Cæſar's camp, where every thing was perfectly quiet, there ſuddenly appeared a great light, from which a ſtream of fire iſſued in the form of a torch, and fell upon that of Pompey. Cæſar himſelf ſays, he ſaw it as he was going his rounds.

Cæſar

* At nox felicis Magno pars ultima vitæ
Sollicitos vana decepit imagine ſomnos.
Nam Pompeiani viſus ſibi ſede theatri
Innumeram effigiem Romanæ cernere Plebis,
Attollique ſuum lætis ad ſidera nomen
Vocibus, & plauſu cuneos certare ſonantes. LUCAN, lib. vii.

† *Panic* fears were ſo called, from the terror which the god *Pan* is ſaid to have ſtruck the enemies of Greece with, at the battle of Marathon.

Cæſar was preparing, at break of day, to march to Scotuſa *; his ſoldiers were ſtriking their tents, and the ſervants, and beaſts of burden, were already in motion, when his ſcouts brought intelligence, that they had ſeen arms handed about in the enemy's camp, and perceived a noiſe and buſtle, which indicated an approaching battle. After theſe, others came and aſſured him, that the firſt ranks were drawn up.

Upon this Cæſar ſaid, "The long-wiſhed day is come, "on which we ſhall fight with men, and not with want "and famine. Then he immediately ordered the red mantle to be put up before his pavilion, which among the Romans, is the ſignal of a battle. The ſoldiers no ſooner beheld it, than they left their tents as they were, and ran to arms with loud ſhouts, and every expreſſion of joy. And when the officers began to put them in order of battle, each man fell into his proper rank as quietly, and with as much ſkill and eaſe, as a *chorus* in a tragedy.

Pompey † placed himſelf in his right wing over againſt Antony, and his father-in-law, Scipio, in the centre, oppoſite

* Προ σκοτȣς in the printed text is evidently a corruption. An anonymous manuſcript gives us προς Σκοτȣσαν. Scotuſa was a city of Theſſaly. Cæſar was perſuaded that Pompey would not come to action, and therefore choſe to march in ſearch of proviſions, as well as to haraſs the enemy with frequent movements, and to watch his opportunity, in ſome of thoſe movements, to fall upon them.

† It is ſomewhat ſurpriſing, that the account which Cæſar himſelf has left us of this memorable battle, ſhould meet with contradiction. Yet ſo it is; Plutarch differs widely from him, and Appian from both. According to Cæſar (Bell. Civil. lib. iii.) Pompey was on the left with the two legions, which Cæſar had returned him at the beginning of the war. Scipio, Pompey's father-in-law, was in the centre, with the legions he had brought from Syria, and the reinforcements ſent by ſeveral kings and ſtates of Aſia. The Cilician legion, and ſome cohorts which had ſerved in Spain, were in the right, under the command of Afranius. As Pompey's right wing was covered by the Enipeus, he ſtrengthened the left with the ſeven thouſand horſe, as well as with the ſlingers and archers. The whole army, conſiſting of forty-five thouſand men, was drawn up in three lines, with very little ſpaces between them. In conformity to this diſpoſition, Cæſar's army was drawn up in the following order; the tenth legion, which had on all occaſions ſignalized itſelf above the reſt, was placed in the right wing, and the ninth in the left; but as the latter had been conſiderably weakened in the action at Dyrrhachium, the eighth legion was poſted ſo near it, as to be able to ſupport and reinforce it upon occaſion. The reſt of Cæſar's forces filled up the ſpaces between the two wings. Mark

pofite Domitius Calvinus. His left wing was commanded by Lucius Domitius, and fupported by the cavalry; for they were almoft all ranged on that fide, in order to break in upon Cæfar, and cut off the tenth legion, which was accounted the braveft in his army, and in which he ufed to fight in perfon. Cæfar feeing the enemy's left wing fo well guarded with horfe, and fearing the excellence of their armour, fent for a detachment of fix cohorts from the body of referve, and placed them behind the tenth legion, with orders not to ftir before the attack, left they fhould be difcovered by the enemy; but when the enemy's cavalry had charged, to make up through the foremoft ranks, and then not to difcharge their javelins at a diftance, as brave men generally do in their eagernefs to come to fword in hand, but to referve them till they came to clofe fighting, and pufh them upwards into the eyes and faces of the enemy. "For thofe fair young dancers," faid he, "will "never ftand the fteel aimed at their eyes, but will fly "to fave their handfome faces."

While Cæfar was thus employed, Pompey took a view on horfeback of the order of both armies; and finding that the enemy kept their ranks with the utmoft exactnefs, and quietly waited for the fignal of battle, while his own men, for want of experience, were fluctuating and unfteady, he was afraid they would be broken upon the firft onfet. He therefore commanded the vanguard to ftand firm in their ranks *, and in that clofe order to receive the enemy's charge. Cæfar condemned this meafure, as not only tending to leffen the vigour of the blows, which is always greateft in the affailants, but alfo to damp the fire and fpirit of the men; whereas thofe who advance with impetuofity, and animate each other with fhouts, are filled with an enthufiaftic valour, and fuperior ardour.

Cæfar's army confifted of twenty-two thoufand men, and Pompey's was fomething more than twice that number. When the fignal was given on both fides, and the trumpets founded a charge, each common man attended only to his

Mark Antony commanded the left wing, Sylla the right, and Cneius Domitius Calvus the main body. As for Cæfar, he pofted himfelf on the right over againft Pompey, that he might have him always in fight.

* Vide Cæs. ubi fupra.

This, however, muft be faid in excufe for Pompey, that generals of great fame and experience have fometimes done as he did,

his own concern. But ſome of the principal Romans and Greeks, who only ſtood and looked on, when the dreadful moment of action approached, could not help conſidering to what the avarice and ambition of two men had brought the Roman empire. The ſame arms on both ſides, the troops marſhalled in the ſame manner, the ſame ſtandards; in ſhort, the ſtrength and flower of one and the ſame city turned upon itſelf! What could be a ſtronger proof of the blindneſs and infatuation of human nature, when carried away by its paſſions? Had they been willing to enjoy the fruits of their labours in peace and tranquillity, the greateſt and beſt part of the world was their own. Or, if they muſt have indulged their thirſt of victories and triumphs, the Parthians and Germans were yet to be ſubdued; Scythia and India yet remained; together with a very plauſible colour for their luſt of new acquiſitions, the pretence of civilizing barbarians. And what Scythian horſe, what Parthian arrows, what Indian treaſures, could have reſiſted ſeventy thouſand Romans, led on by Pompey and Cæſar, with whoſe names thoſe nations had long been acquainted? Into ſuch a variety of wild and ſavage countries had theſe two generals carried their victorious arms. Whereas now they ſtood threatening each other with deſtruction; not ſparing even their own glory, though to it they ſacrificed their country, but prepared, one of them, to loſe the reputation of being invincible, which hitherto they had both maintained. So that the alliance which they had contracted by Pompey's marriage to Julia, was from the firſt only an artful expedient; and her charms were to form a ſelf-intereſted compact, inſtead of being the pledge of a ſincere friendſhip.

The plain of Pharſalia was now covered with men, and horſes, and arms; and the ſignal of battle being given on both ſides, the firſt on Cæſar's ſide who advanced to the charge, was Caius Craſtinus *, who commanded a corps of a hundred and twenty men, and was determined to make good his promiſe to his general. He was the firſt man Cæſar ſaw when he went out of the trenches in the morning; and upon Cæſar's aſking him what he thought of the battle, he ſtretched out his hand, and anſwered in a cheerful tone, "You will gain a glorious "victory

* So Cæſar calls him. His name in Plutarch is *Craſſianus*, in Appian *Craſſinus*.

"victory, and I shall have your praise this day, either "alive or dead." In pursuance of this promise, he advanced the foremost, and many following to support him, he charged into the midst of the enemy. They soon took to their swords, and numbers were slain; but as Crastinus was making his way forward, and cutting down all before him, one of Pompey's men stood to receive him, and pushed his sword in at his mouth with such force that it went through the nape of his neck. Crastinus thus killed, the fight was maintained with equal advantage on both sides,

Pompey did not immediately bring on his right wing, but often directed his eyes to the left, and lost time in waiting to see what execution his cavalry would do there. Mean while they had extended their squadrons to surround Cæsar, and prepared to drive the few horse he had placed in front, back upon the foot. At that instant Cæsar gave the signal: Upon which, his cavalry retreated a little *; and the six cohorts, which consisted of three thousand men, and had been placed behind the tenth legion, advanced to surround Pompey's cavalry; and coming close up to them, raised the points of their javelins, as they had been taught, and aimed them at the face †. Their adversaries, who were not experienced in any kind of fighting, and had not the least previous idea of this, could not parry or endure the blows upon their faces, but turned their backs, or covered their eyes with their hands, and soon fled with great dishonour. Cæsar's men took no care to pursue them, but turned their force upon the enemy's infantry, particularly upon that wing, which, now stripped of its horse, lay open to the attack on all sides. The six cohorts, therefore, took them in flank, while the tenth legion charged them in front; and they, who had hoped to surround the enemy, and now, instead of that, saw

* Αι δε επιτεταγμεναι σπειραι προς την κυκλωσιν επιδεξαμεναι, τρισχιλιοι ανδρες, ὑπαντιαζουσι τους πολεμιους.

Amiot and Dacier translate this passage as we have done; though, with a comma after *κυκλωσιν*; it may possibly bear the sense which the Latin and the former English translator have given it; namely, that they were placed there to prevent the tenth legion from being surrounded, but that does not appear to be a natural construction.

† *Miles, feri faciem.*

ſaw themſelves ſurrounded, made but a ſhort reſiſtance, and then took to precipitate flight.

By the great duſt that was raiſed, Pompey conjectured the fate of his cavalry; and it is hard to ſay what paſſed in his mind at that moment. He appeared like a man moon-ſtruck and diſtracted; and without conſidering that he was Pompey the Great, or ſpeaking to any one, he quitted the ranks, and retired ſtep by ſtep towards his camp. A ſcene which cannot be better painted than in theſe verſes of Homer *:

> But partial Jove eſpouſing Hector's part,
> Shot heav'n-bred horror through the Grecian's heart;
> Confus'd, unnerv'd in Hector's preſence grown,
> Amaz'd he ſtood, with terrors not his own.
> O'er his broad back his moony ſhield he threw,
> And glaring round by tardy ſteps withdrew. POPE.

In this condition he entered his tent, where he ſat down, and uttered not a word, till at laſt, upon finding that ſome of the enemy entered the camp with the fugitives, he ſaid, "What! into my camp too!" After this ſhort exclamation, he roſe up, and dreſſing himſelf in a manner ſuitable to his fortune, privately withdrew †. All the other legions fled; and a great ſlaughter was made in the camp, of the ſervants and others who had the care of the tents. But Aſinius Pollio, who then fought on Cæſar's ſide,

* In the eleventh book of the Iliad, where he is ſpeaking of the flight of Ajax before Hector.

† Cæſar tells us that the cohorts appointed to defend the camp made a vigorous reſiſtance; but being at length overpowered, fled to a neighbouring mountain, where he reſolved to inveſt them. But before he had finiſhed his lines, want of water obliged them to abandon that poſt, and retire towards Lariſſa. Cæſar purſued the fugitives at the head of four legions, (not of the fourth legion, as the authors of the Univerſal Hiſtory erroneouſly ſay,) and after ſix miles march came up with them. But they not daring to engage troops fluſhed with victory, fled for refuge to a high hill, the foot of which was watered by a little river. Though Cæſar's men were quite ſpent, and ready to faint with the exceſſive heat and the fatigue of the whole day, yet, by his obliging manner, he prevailed upon them to cut off the conveniency of the water from the enemy by a trench. Hereupon, the unfortunate fugitives came to a capitulation, threw down their arms, and implored the clemency of the conqueror. This they all did, except ſome ſenators, who, as it was now night, eſcaped in the dark. Vide CÆS. Bell. Civ. iii. 80.

ſide, aſſures us, that of the regular troops there were not above ſix thouſand men killed *.

Upon the taking of the camp, there was a ſpectacle which ſhewed, in ſtrong colours, the vanity and folly of Pompey's troops. All the tents were crowned with myrtle; the beds were ſtrewed with flowers; the tables covered with cups, and bowls of wine ſet out. In ſhort, every thing had the appearance of preparations for feaſts and ſacrifices, rather than for men going out to battle. To ſuch a degree had their vain hopes corrupted them, and with ſuch a ſenſeleſs confidence they took the field!

When Pompey had got at a little diſtance from the camp, he quitted his horſe. He had very few people about him; and, as he ſaw he was not purſued, he went ſoftly on, wrapt up in ſuch thoughts as we may ſuppoſe a man to have, who had been uſed for thirty-four years to conquer and carry all before him, and now in his old age firſt came to know what it was to be defeated and to fly. We may eaſily conjecture what his thoughts muſt be, when in one ſhort hour he had loſt the glory and the power which had been growing up amidſt ſo many wars and conflicts; and he who was lately guarded with ſuch armies of horſe and foot, and ſuch great and powerful fleets, was reduced to ſo mean and contemptible an equipage, that his enemies, who were in ſearch of him, could not know him.

He paſſed by Lariſſa, and came to Tempe, where burning with thirſt, he threw himſelf upon his face, and drank out of the river; after which, he paſſed through the valley, and went down to the ſea-coaſt. There he ſpent the remainder of the night in a poor fiſherman's cabin. Next morning, about break of day, he went on board a ſmall river-boat, taking with him ſuch of his company as were freemen. The ſlaves he diſmiſſed, bidding them go to Cæſar, and fear nothing.

As he was coaſting along, he ſaw a ſhip of burthen juſt ready to ſail; the maſter of which was Peticius, a Roman citizen, who, though not acquainted with Pompey, knew him by ſight. It happened, that this man, the night before, dreamed he ſaw Pompey come and talk to him, not in

* Cæſar ſays, that in all there were fifteen thouſand killed, and twenty-four thouſand taken priſoners.

in the figure he had formerly known him, but in mean and melancholy circumſtances. He was giving the paſſengers an account of his dream, as perſons, who have a great deal of time upon their hands, love to diſcourſe about ſuch matters; when, on a ſudden, one of the mariners told him, he ſaw a little boat rowing up to him from the land, and the crew making ſigns, by ſhaking their garments and ſtretching out their hands. Upon this, Peticius ſtood up, and could diſtinguiſh Pompey among them, in the ſame form as he had ſeen him in his dream. Then beating his head for ſorrow, he ordered the ſeamen to let down the ſhip's boat, and held out his hand to Pompey to invite him aboard; for by his dreſs he perceived his change of fortune. Therefore, without waiting for any farther application, he took him up, and ſuch of his companions as he thought proper, and then hoiſted ſail. The perſons Pompey took with him, were the two Lentuli and Favonius; and a little after, they ſaw king Deiotarus beckoning to them with great earneſtneſs from the ſhore, and took him up likewiſe. The maſter of the ſhip provided them the beſt ſupper he could, and when it was almoſt ready, Pompey, for want of a ſervant, was going to waſh himſelf, but Favonius ſeeing it, ſtepped up, and both waſhed and anointed him. All the time he was on board, he continued to wait upon him in all the offices of a ſervant, even to the waſhing of his feet and providing his ſupper; inſomuch, that one who ſaw the unaffected ſimplicity and ſincere attachment with which Favonius performed theſe offices, cried out,

—— The generous mind adds dignity
To every act, and nothing miſbecomes it.

Pompey in the courſe of his voyage, ſailed by Amphipolis, and from thence ſteered for Mitylene, to take up Cornelia and his ſon. As ſoon as he reached the iſland, he ſent a meſſenger to the town with news far different from what Cornelia expected. For, by the flattering accounts which many officious perſons had given her, ſhe underſtood, that the diſpute was decided at Dyrrhachium, and that nothing but the purſuit of Cæſar remained to be attended to. The meſſenger finding her poſſeſſed with ſuch hopes, had not power to make the uſual ſalutations; but expreſſing the greatneſs of Pompey's misfortunes by his tears

tears rather than words, only told her, "She muſt make "haſte, if ſhe had a mind to ſee Pompey with one ſhip "only, and that not his own."

At this news Cornelia threw herſelf upon the ground, where ſhe lay a long time inſenſible and ſpeechleſs. At laſt, coming to herſelf, ſhe perceived there was no time to be loſt in tears and lamentations, and therefore haſtened through the town to the ſea. Pompey ran to meet her, and received her to his arms as ſhe was juſt going to fall. While ſhe hung upon his neck, ſhe thus addreſſed him: "I ſee, my dear huſband, your preſent unhappy condition "is the effect of my ill fortune, and not yours. Alas! "how are you reduced to one poor veſſel, who, before "your marriage with Cornelia, traverſed this ſea with five "hundred galleys? Why did you come to ſee me, and "not rather leave me to my evil deſtiny, who have loaded "you too with ſuch a weight of calamities? How happy "had it been for me to have died before I heard that "Publius, my firſt huſband, was killed by the Parthians? "How wiſe, had I followed him to the grave, as I once "intended? What have I lived for ſince, but to bring "misfortunes upon Pompey the Great *?"

Such, we are aſſured, was the ſpeech of Cornelia; and Pompey anſwered, "Till this moment, Cornelia, you "have experienced nothing but the ſmiles of fortune; and "it was ſhe who deceived you, becauſe ſhe ſtayed with "me longer than ſhe commonly does with her favourites. "But, fated as we are, we muſt bear this reverſe, and "make another trial of her. For it is no more improb- "able, that we may emerge from this poor condition, and "riſe to great things again, than it was, that we ſhould "fall from great things into this poor condition."

Cornelia then ſent to the city for her moſt valuable moveables and her ſervants. The people of Mitylene came to pay their reſpects to Pompey, and to invite him to their city.

* Cornelia is repreſented by Lucan, too, as imputing the misfortunes of Pompey to her alliance with him; and it ſeems, from one part of her ſpeech on this occaſion, that ſhe ſhould have been given to Cæſar.

O utinam Thalamos inviſi Cæſaris iſſem!

If there were any thing in this, it might have been a material cauſe of the quarrel between Cæſar and Pompey, as the latter, by means of this alliance, muſt have ſtrengthened himſelf with the Craſſian intereſt: For Cornelia was the relict of Publius Craſſus, the ſon of Marcus Craſſus.

city. But he refused to go, and bade them surrender themselves to the conqueror without fear; "For Cæsar," he told them, "had great clemency." After this, he turned to Cratippus the philosopher, who was come from the town to see him, and began to complain a little of Providence, and express some doubts concerning it. Cratippus made some concessions, and, turning the discourse, encouraged him to hope better things; that he might not give him pain, by an unseasonable opposition to his arguments; else he might have answered his objections against Providence, by shewing, that the state, and indeed the constitution, was in such disorder, that it was necessary it should be changed into a monarchy. Or this one question would have silenced him, "How do we know, Pompey, that, if you had conquered, you would have made a better use of your good fortune than Cæsar?" But we must leave the determinations of heaven to its superior wisdom.

As soon as his wife and his friends were embarked, he set sail, and continued his course, without touching at any port, except for water and provisions, till he came to Attalia, a city of Pamphylia. There he was joined by some Cilician galleys; and beside picking up a number of soldiers, he found in a little time sixty senators about him. When he was informed that his fleet was still entire, and that Cato was gone to Africa with a considerable body of men which he had collected after their flight, he lamented to his friends his great error, in suffering himself to be forced into an engagement at land, and making no use of those forces, in which he was confessedly stronger; nor even taking care to fight near his fleet, that, in case of his meeting with a check at land, he might have been supplied from sea with another army, capable of making head against the enemy. Indeed, we find no greater mistake in Pompey's whole conduct, nor a more remarkable instance of Cæsar's generalship, than in removing the scene of action to such a distance from the naval forces.

However, as it was necessary to undertake something with the small means he had left, he sent to some cities, and sailed to others himself, to raise money, and to get a supply of men for his ships. But knowing the extraordinary celerity of the enemy's motions, he was afraid he might be before-hand with him, and seize all that he was preparing. He, therefore, began to think of retiring to some

ſome aſylum, and propoſed the matter in council. They could not think of any province in the Roman empire that would afford a ſafe retreat; and when they caſt their eyes on the foreign kingdoms, Pompey mentioned Parthia, as the moſt likely to receive and protect them in their preſent weak condition, and afterwards to ſend them back with a force ſufficient to retrieve their affairs. Others were of opinion, it was proper to apply to Africa, and to Juba in particular. But Theophanes of Leſbos obſerved, it was madneſs to leave Egypt, which was diſtant but three days ſail. Beſides, Ptolemy *, who was growing towards manhood, had particular obligations to Pompey on his father's account: And ſhould he go then, and put himſelf in the hands of the Parthians, the moſt perfidious people in the world? He repreſented what a wrong meaſure it would be, if, rather than truſt to the clemency of a noble Roman, who was his father-in-law, and be contented with the ſecond place of eminence, he would venture his perſon with Arſaces †, by whom even Craſſus would not be taken alive. He added, that it would be extremely abſurd to carry a young woman of the family of Scipio among barbarians, who thought power conſiſted in the diſplay of inſolence and outrage; and where, if ſhe eſcaped unviolated, it would be believed ſhe did not, after ſhe had been with thoſe who were capable of treating her with indignity. It is ſaid, this laſt conſideration only, prevented his marching to the Euphrates; but it is ſome doubt with us, whether it was not rather his fate, than his opinion, which directed his ſteps another way.

When it was determined that they ſhould ſeek for refuge in Egypt, he ſet ſail from Cyprus with Cornelia, in a Seleucian galley. The reſt accompanied him, ſome in ſhips of war, and ſome in merchantmen: And they made a ſafe voyage. Being informed that Ptolemy was with his army at Pelufium, where he was engaged in war with his ſiſter, he proceeded thither, and ſent a meſſenger before him to notify his arrival, and to intreat the king's protection.

Ptolemy

* This was Ptolemy Dionyſius, the ſon of Ptolemy Auletes, who died in the year of Rome 704, which was the year before the battle of Pharſalia. He was now in his fourteenth year.

† From this paſſage it appears, that Arſaces was the common name of the kings of Parthia. For it was not the proper name of the king then upon the throne, nor of him who was at war with Craſſus.

Ptolemy was very young, and Photinus, his prime minister, called a council of his ablest officers; though their advice had no more weight than he was pleased to allow it. He ordered each, however, to give his opinion. But who can, without indignation, consider, that the fate of Pompey the Great was to be determined by Photinus, an eunuch, by Theodotus, a man of Chios, who was hired to teach the prince rhetoric, and by Achillas, an Egyptian? For among the king's chamberlains and tutors, these had the greatest influence over him, and were the persons he most consulted. Pompey lay at anchor at some distance from the place, waiting the determination of this respectable board; while he thought it beneath him to be indebted to Cæsar for his safety. The council were divided in their opinions; some advising the prince to give him an honourable reception, and others to send him an order to depart. But Theodotus, to display his eloquence, insisted that both were wrong. "If you receive him," said he, "you will have Cæsar for your enemy, and Pompey for your master. If you order him off, Pompey may one day revenge the affront, and Cæsar resent your not having put him in his hands: The best method, therefore, is to send for him, and put him to death. By this means you will do Cæsar a favour, and have nothing to fear from Pompey." He added, with a smile, "Dead men do not bite."

This advice being approved of, the execution of it was committed to Achillas. In consequence of which, he took with him Septimius, who had formerly been one of Pompey's officers, and Salvius, who had also acted under him as a centurion, with three or four assistants, and made up to Pompey's ship, where his principal friends and officers had assembled, to see how the affair went on. When they perceived there was nothing magnificent in their reception, nor suitable to the hopes which Theophanes had conceived, but that a few men only, in a fishing-boat, came to wait upon them, such want of respect appeared a suspicious circumstance; and they advised Pompey, while he was out of the reach of missive weapons, to get out to the main sea.

Mean time, the boat approaching, Septimius spoke first, addressing Pompey, in Latin, by the title of *Imperator*. Then Achillas saluted him in Greek, and desired him to come into the boat, because the water was very shallow towards the

the ſhore, and a galley muſt ſtrike upon the ſands. At the ſame time they ſaw ſeveral of the king's ſhips getting ready, and the ſhore covered with troops, ſo that if they would have changed their minds, it was then too late; beſides, their diſtruſt would have furniſhed the aſſaſſins with a pretence for their injuſtice. He, therefore, embraced Cornelia, who lamented his ſad exit before it happened; and ordered two centurions, one of his enfranchiſed ſlaves, named Philip, and a ſervant called Scenes, to get into the boat before him. When Achillas had hold of his hand, and he was going to ſtep in himſelf, he turned to his wife and ſon, and repeated that verſe of Sophocles,

> Seek'ſt thou a tyrant's door? then farewel freedom!
> Tho' FREE as air before———

Theſe were the laſt words he ſpoke to them.

As there was a conſiderable diſtance between the galley and the ſhore, and he obſerved that not a man in the boat ſhewed him the leaſt civility, or even ſpoke to him, he looked at Septimius, and ſaid, "Methinks, I remember "you to have been my fellow-ſoldier;" but he anſwered only with a nod, without teſtifying any regard or friendſhip. A profound ſilence again taking place, Pompey took out a paper, in which he had written a ſpeech in Greek, that he deſigned to make to Ptolemy, and amuſed himſelf with reading it.

When they approached the ſhore, Cornelia, with her friends in the galley, watched the event with great anxiety. She was a little encouraged, when ſhe ſaw a number of the king's great officers coming down to the ſtrand, in all appearance to receive her huſband and do him honour. But the moment Pompey was taking hold of Philip's hand, to raiſe him with more eaſe, Septimius came behind, and run him through the body; after which Salvius and Achillas alſo drew their ſwords. Pompey took his robe in both hands, and covered his face; and without ſaying or doing the leaſt thing unworthy of him, ſubmitted to his fate; only uttering a groan, while they deſpatched him with many blows. He was then juſt fifty-nine years old, for he was killed the day after his birth-day*.

Cornelia,

* Some divines, in ſaying that Pompey never proſpered after he preſumed to enter the ſanctuary in the temple at Jeruſalem, intimate, that his

Cornelia, and her friends in the galleys, upon feeing him murdered, gave a fhriek that was heard to the fhore, and weighed anchor immediately. Their flight was affifted by a brifk gale, as they got out more to fea; fo that the Egyptians gave up their defign of purfuing them.

The murderers having cut off Pompey's head, threw the body out of the boat naked, and left it expofed to all who were defirous of fuch a fight. Philip ftayed till their curiofity was fatisfied, and then wafhed the body with fea-water, and wrapped it in one of his own garments, becaufe he had nothing elfe at hand. The next thing was to look out for wood for the funeral-pile; and cafting his eyes over the fhore, he fpied the old remains of a fifhing-boat; which, though not large, would make a fufficient pile for a poor naked body that was not quite entire.

While he was collecting the pieces of plank and putting them together, an old Roman, who had made fome of his firft campaigns under Pompey, came up, and faid to Philip, "Who are you that are preparing the funeral of Pompey "the Great?" Philip anfwered, "I am his freedman." "But you fhall not," faid the old Roman, "have this "honour entirely to yourfelf. As a work of piety offers "itfelf, let me have a fhare in it; that I may not abfolutely "repent my having paffed fo many years in a foreign "country; but, to compenfate many misfortunes, may "have the confolation of doing fome of the laft honours * "to the greateft general Rome ever produced." In this manner was the funeral of Pompey conducted.

Next day Lucius Lentulus, who knew nothing of what had paffed, becaufe he was upon his voyage from Cyprus, arrived upon the Egyptian fhore, and, as he was coafting along, faw the funeral pile, and Philip, whom he did not yet know, ftanding by it. Upon which he faid to himfelf, "Who has finifhed his days, and is going to leave his "remains upon this fhore?" adding, after a fhort paufe, with a figh, "Ah! Pompey the Great! perhaps thou "mayft be the man." Lentulus foon after went on fhore, and was taken and flain.

Such

his misfortunes were owing to that profanation; but we forbear, with Plutarch, to comment upon the providential determinations of the Supreme Being. Indeed he fell a facrifice to as vile a fet of people as he had before infulted, for, the Jews excepted, there was not upon earth a more defpicable race of men than the cowardly cruel Egyptians.

* Of touching and wrapping up the body.

Such was the end of Pompey the Great. As for Cæſar, he arrived not long after in Egypt, which he found in great diſorder. When they came to preſent the head, he turned from it, and the perſon that brought it, as a ſight of horror. He received the ſeal, but it was with tears. The device was a lion holding a ſword. The two aſſaſſins, Achillas and Photinus, he put to death; and the king, being defeated in battle, periſhed in the river. Theodotus, the rhetorician, eſcaped the vengeance of Cæſar, by leaving Egypt; but he wandered about, a miſerable fugitive, and was hated wherever he went. At laſt, Marcus Brutus, who killed Cæſar, found the wretch, in his province of Aſia, and put him to death, after having made him ſuffer the moſt exquiſite tortures. The aſhes of Pompey were carried to Cornelia, who buried them in his lands near Alba *.

AGESILAUS AND POMPEY

COMPARED.

SUCH is the account we had to give of the lives of theſe two great men; and, in drawing up the parallel, we ſhall previouſly take a ſhort ſurvey of the difference in their characters.

In the firſt place, Pompey roſe to power, and eſtabliſhed his reputation, by juſt and laudable means; partly by the

* Pompey has, in all appearance, and in all conſiderations of his character, had leſs juſtice done him by hiſtorians, than any other man of his time. His popular humanity, his military and political ſkill, his prudence, (which he ſometimes unfortunately gave up) his natural bravery and generoſity, his conjugal virtues, which (though ſometimes impeached) were, both naturally and morally great; his cauſe, which was certainly, in its original intereſts, the cauſe of Rome; all theſe circumſtances intitled him to a more diſtinguiſhed and more reſpectable character than any of his hiſtorians have thought proper to afford him. One circumſtance, indeed, renders the accounts that the writers, who roſe after the eſtabliſhed monarchy, have given of his oppoſition, perfectly reconcileable to the prejudice which appears againſt him; or rather to the reluctance which they have ſhewn to that praiſe which they ſeemed to have felt that he deſerved: When the commonwealth was no more, and the ſupporters of its intereſts had fallen with it, then hiſtory itſelf, not to mention poetry, departed from its proper privilege of impartiality, and even Plutarch made a ſacrifice to imperial power.

the ſtrength of his own genius, and partly by his services to Sylla, in freeing Italy from various attempts of deſpotiſm. Whereas Ageſilaus came to the throne, by methods equally immoral and irreligious; for it was by accuſing Leotychidas of baſtardy, whom his brother had acknowledged as his legitimate ſon, and by eluding the oracle relative to a lame king *.

In the next place, Pompey paid all due reſpect to Sylla during his life, and took care to ſee his remains honourably interred, notwithſtanding the oppoſition it met with from Lepidus; and afterwards he gave his daughter to Fauſtus, the ſon of Sylla. On the other hand, Ageſilaus ſhook off Lyſander upon a ſlight pretence, and treated him with great indignity. Yet the ſervices Pompey received from Sylla were not greater than thoſe he had rendered him; whereas Ageſilaus was appointed king of Sparta by Lyſander's means, and afterwards captain-general of Greece,

In the third place, Pompey's offences againſt the laws and the conſtitution, were principally owing to his alliances, to his ſupporting either Cæſar or Scipio (whoſe daughter he had married) in their unjuſt demands. Ageſilaus not only gratified the paſſion of his ſon, by ſparing the life of Sphodrias, whoſe death ought to have atoned for the injuries he had done the Athenians: But he likewiſe Screened Phœbidas, who was guilty of an egregious infraction of the league with the Thebans, and it was viſibly for the ſake of his crime that he took him into his protection. In ſhort, whatever troubles Pompey brought upon the Romans, either through ignorance, or a timorous complaiſance for his friends, Ageſilaus brought as great diſtreſſes upon the Spartans, through a ſpirit of obſtinacy and reſentment; for ſuch was the ſpirit that kindled the Bœotian war.

If, when we are menioning their faults, we may take notice of their fortune, the Romans could have no previous idea of that of Pompey; but the Lacedæmonians were ſufficiently forwarned of the danger of a lame reign, and yet Ageſilaus would not ſuffer them to avail themſelves of that warning †. Nay, ſuppoſing Leotychidas a mere ſtranger,

* See the Life of Ageſilaus.

† It is true, the latter part of Ageſilaus's reign was unfortunate, but the misfortunes were owing to his malice againſt the Thebans, and to

ſtranger, and as much a baſtard as he was; yet the family of Eurytion could eaſily have ſupplied Sparta with a king who was neither ſpurious, nor maimed, had not Lyſander been induſtrious enough to render the oracle obſcure for the ſake of Ageſilaus.

As to their political talents, there never was a finer meaſure than that of Ageſilaus, when, in the diſtreſs of the Spartans how to proceed againſt the fugitives after the battle of Leuctra, he decreed that the laws ſhould be ſilent for that day. We have nothing of Pompey's that can poſſibly be compared to it. On the contrary, he thought himſelf exempted from obſerving the laws he had made, and that his tranſgreſſing them ſhewed his friends his ſuperior power: Whereas Ageſilaus, when under a neceſſity of contravening the laws, to ſave a number of citizens, found out an expedient which ſaved both the laws and the criminals. I muſt alſo reckon among his political virtues, his inimitable behaviour upon the receipt of the *ſcytale*, which ordered him to leave Aſia in the height of his ſucceſs. For he did not, like Pompey, ſerve the commonwealth only in affairs which contributed to his own greatneſs; the good of his country was his greut object, and, with a view to that, he renounced ſuch power and ſo much glory as no man had either before or after him, except Alexander the Great.

If we view them in another light, and conſider their military performances; the trophies which Pompey erected were ſo numerous, the armies he led ſo powerful, and the pitched battles he won ſo extraordinary, that I ſuppoſe Xenophon himſelf would not compare the victories of Ageſilaus with them; though that hiſtorian, on account of his other excellencies, has been indulged the peculiar privilege of ſaying what he pleaſed of his hero.

There was a difference too, I think, in their behaviour to their enemies, in point of equity and moderation. Ageſilaus was bent upon enſlaving Thebes, and deſtroyed Meſſene; the former the city from which his family ſprung, the latter

to his fighting contrary to the laws of Lycurgus) the ſame enemy ſo frequently, that he taught them to beat him at laſt.

Neverthelеſs, the oracle, as we have obſerved in a former note, probably meant the lameneſs of the kingdom, in having but one king inſtead of two, and not the lameneſs of the king.

latter Sparta's ſiſter colony *; and in the attempt he was near ruining Sparta itſelf. On the other hand, Pompey, after he had conquered the pirates, beſtowed cities on ſuch as were willing to change their way of life; and when he might have led Tigranes, king of Armenia, captive at the wheels of his chariot, he rather choſe to make him an ally; on which occaſion he made uſe of that memorable expreſſion, "I prefer the glory that will laſt for ever, to that of "a day."

But if the pre-eminence in military virtue is to be decided by ſuch actions and counſels as are moſt characteriſtical of the great and wiſe commander, we ſhall find that the Lacedæmonian leaves the Roman far behind. In the firſt place, he never abandoned his city, though it was beſieged by ſeventy thouſand men, while he had but a handful of men to oppoſe them with, and thoſe lately defeated in the battle of Leuctra. But Pompey †, upon Cæſar's advancing with five thouſand three hundred men only, and taking one little town in Italy, left Rome in a panic; either meanly yielding to ſo trifling a force, or failing in his intelligence of their real numbers. In his flight he carried off his own wife and children, but he left thoſe of the other citizens in a defenceleſs ſtate; when he ought either to have ſtayed and conquered for his country, or to have accepted ſuch conditions as the conqueror might impoſe, who was both his fellow-citizen and his relation. A little while before, he thought it inſupportable to prolong the term of his commiſſion, and to grant him another conſulſhip; and now he ſuffered him to take poſſeſſion of the city, and to tell Metellus, "That he conſidered him, "and all the other inhabitants, as his priſoners."

If it is the principal buſineſs of a general to know how to bring the enemy to a battle when he is ſtronger, and how to avoid being compelled to one when he is weaker, Ageſilaus

* For Hercules was born at Thebes, and Meſſene was a colony of the Heraclidæ, as well as Sparta. The Latin and French tranſlations have miſtaken the ſenſe of this paſſage.

† Here is another egregious inſtance of Plutarch's prejudice againſt the character of Pompey. It is certain that he left not Rome till he was well convinced of the impoſſibility of maintaining it againſt the arms of Cæſar. For he was not only coming againſt it with a force much more powerful than is here mentioned; but he had rendered even a ſiege unneceſſary, by a previous diſtribution of his gold amongſt the citizens.

Agesilaus understood that rule perfectly well, and, by observing it, continued always invincible. But Pompey could never take Cæsor at a disadvantage; on the contrary, he suffered Cæsar to take the advantage of him, by being brought to hazard all in an action at land. The consequence of which was, that Cæsar became master of his treasures, his provisions, and the sea itself, when he might have preserved them all, had he known how to avoid a battle.

As for the apology that is made for Pompey in this case, it reflects the greatest dishonour upon a general of his experience. If a young officer had been so much dispirited and disturbed by the tumults and clamours among his troops, as to depart from his better judgment, it would have been pardonable. But for Pompey the Great, whose camp the Romans called their country, and whose tent their senate, while they gave the name of rebels and traitors to those who stayed and acted as prætors and consuls in Rome; for Pompey, who had never been known to serve as a private soldier, but had made all his campaigns with the greatest reputation as general; for such a one to be forced, by the scoffs of Favonius and Domitius, and the fear of being called Agamemnon, to risk the fate of the whole empire, and of liberty, upon the cast of a single die—who can bear it?—If he dreaded only present infamy, he ought to have made a stand at first, and to have fought for the city of Rome; and not, after calling his flight a manœuvre of Themistocles, to look upon the delaying a battle in Thessaly as a dishonour. For the gods had not appointed the fields of Pharsalia as the lists in which he was to contend for the empire of Rome, nor was he summoned by a herald to make his appearance there, or otherwise forfeit the palm to another. There were innumerable plains and cities; nay, his command of the sea left the whole earth to his choice, had he been determined to imitate Maximus, Marius, or Lucullus, or Agesilaus himself.

Agesilaus certainly had no less tumults to encounter in Sparta, when the Thebans challenged him to come out and fight for his dominions: nor were the calumnies and slanders he met with in Egypt from the madness of the king less grating, when he advised that prince, to lie still for a time. Yet by pursuing the sage measures he had first fixed upon,

upon, he not only saved the Egyptians in spite of themselves, but kept Sparta from sinking in the earthquake that threatened her; nay, he erected there the best trophy imaginable against the Thebans; for, by keeping the Spartans from their ruin, which they were so obstinately bent upon, he put it in their power to conquer afterward. Hence it was that Agesilaus was praised by the persons whom he had saved by violence; and Pompey, who committed an error in complaisance to others, was condemned by those who drew him into it. Some say, indeed, that he was deceived by his father-in-law Scipio, who, wanting to convert to his own use, the treasures he had brought from Asia, had concealed them for that purpose, and hastened the action under pretence that the supplies would soon fail. But, supposing that true, a general should not have suffered himself to be so easily deceived, nor in consequence of being so deceived, have hazarded the loss of all. Such are the principal strokes that mark their military characters.

As to their voyages to Egypt, the one fled thither out of necessity; the other, without any necessity or sufficient cause, listed himself in the service of a barbarous prince, to raise a fund for carrying on the war with the Greeks. So that if we accuse the Egyptians for their behaviour to Pompey, the Egyptians blame Agesilaus as much for his behaviour to them. The one was betrayed by those in whom he put his trust; the other was guilty of a breach of trust, in deserting those whom he went to support, and going over to their enemies.

ALEXANDER.

IN this volume we shall give the Lives of Alexander the Great, and of Cæsar, who overthrew Pompey; and, as the quantity of materials is so great, we shall only premise, that we hope for indulgence though we do not give the actions in full detail and with a scrupulous exactness, but rather in a short summary; since we are not writing Histories, but Lives. Nor is it always in the most distinguished achievements that men's virtues or vices may be best discerned; but very often an action of small

ſmall note, a ſhort ſaying, or a jeſt, ſhall diſtinguiſh a perſon's real character, more than the greateſt ſieges or the moſt important battles. Therefore, as painters in their portraits labour the likeneſs in the face, and particularly about the eyes, in which the peculiar turn of mind moſt appears, and run over the reſt with a more careleſs hand; ſo we muſt be permitted to ſtrike off the features of the ſoul, in order to give a real likeneſs of theſe great men, and leave to others the circumſtantial detail of their labours and achievements.

It is allowed as certain, that Alexander was a deſcendant of Hercules by Caranus *, and of Æacus by Neoptolemus. His father Philip is ſaid to have been initiated, when very young, along with Olympias, in the myſteries at Samothrace; and having conceived an affection for her, he obtained her in marriage of her brother Arymbas, to whom he applied, becauſe ſhe was left an orphan. The night before the conſummation of the marriage, ſhe dreamed, that a thunder-bolt fell upon her belly, which kindled a great fire, and that the flame extended itſelf far and wide before it diſappeared. And ſome time after the marriage, Philip dreamed that he ſealed up the queen's womb with a ſeal, the impreſſion of which he thought was a lion. Moſt of the interpreters believed the dream announced ſome reaſon to doubt the honour of Olympias, and that Philip ought to look more cloſely to her conduct. But Ariſtander of Telmeſus ſaid, it only denoted that the queen was pregnant; for a ſeal is never put upon any thing that is empty; and that the child would prove a boy, of a bold and lion-like courage. A ſerpent was alſo ſeen lying by Olympias as ſhe ſlept; which is ſaid to have cooled Philip's affections for her more than any thing, inſomuch that he ſeldom repaired to her bed afterwards; whether it was that he feared ſome enchantment from her, or abſtained from her embraces becauſe he thought them taken up by ſome ſuperior being.

Some

* Caranus the ſixteenth in deſcent from Hercules, made himſelf maſter of Macedonia in the year before Chriſt 794; and Alexander the Great was the twenty-ſecond in deſcent from Caranus; ſo that from Hercules to Alexander there were thirty-eight generations. The deſcent by his mother's ſide is not ſo clear, there being many degrees wanting in it. It is ſufficient to know, that Olympias was the daughter of Neoptolemus, and ſiſter to Arymbas.

Some, indeed, relate the affair in another manner. They tell us, that the women of this country were of old extremely fond of the ceremonies of Orpheus, and the orgies of Bacchus; and that they were called *Clodones* and *Mimallones*, because in many things they imitated the Edonian and Thracian women about Mount Hæmus; from whom the Greek word *threscuein* seems to be derived, which signifies the exercise of extravagant and superstitious observances. Olympias being remarkably ambitious of these inspirations, and desirous of giving the enthusiastic solemnities a more strange and horrid appearance, introduced a number of large tame serpents, which often creeping out of the ivy and the mystic fans, and entwining about the *Thyrsuses* and garlands of the women, struck the spectators with terror.

Philip, however, upon this appearance *, sent Chiron of Megalopolis to consult the oracle at Delphi; and we are told, Apollo commanded him to sacrifice to Jupiter Ammon, and to pay his homage principally to that god. Is is also said, he lost one of his eyes, which was that he applied to the chink of the door, when he saw the god in his wife's embraces in the form of a serpent. According to Eratosthenes, Olympias, when she conducted Alexander on his way in his first expedition, privately discovered to him the secret of his birth, and exhorted him to behave with a dignity suitable to his divine extraction. Others affirm, that she absolutely rejected it as an impious fiction, and used to say, "Will Alexander never leave embroiling "me with Juno?"

Alexander † was born on the sixth of Hecatombœon ‡ [July], which the Macedonians call *Lous*, the same day that the temple of Diana at Ephesus was burnt; upon which

* We do not think the word φασμα relates to the dream, but to the appearing of the serpent.

† In the first year of the hundred and sixth Olympiad, before Christ 354.

‡ Ælian (Var. Hist. l. ii. c. 25.) says expressly, that Alexander was born and died in the sixth day of the month Thargelion. But supposing Plutarch right in placing his birth in the month Hecatombœon, yet not that month, but Bœdromion then answered to the Macedonian month Lous; as appears clearly from a letter of Philip's, still preserved in the Orations of Demosthenes, (in Orat. de Corona). In after times, indeed, the month Lous answered to Hecatombœon, which, without doubt, was the cause of Plutarch's mistake.

which Hegesias, the Magnesian, has uttered a conceit frigid enough to have extinguished the flames. "It is no "wonder," said he, "that the temple of Diana was "burnt, when she was at a distance, employed in bringing "Alexander into the world." All the *Magi* who were then at Ephesus, looked upon the fire as a sign which betokened a much greater misfortune: they ran about the town, bsating their faces, and crying, "That the day had "brought forth the great scourge and destroyer of Asia."

Philip had just taken the city of Potidæa *, and three messengers arrived the same day with extraordinary tidings. The first informed him that Parmenio had gained a great battle against the Illyrians; the second, that his racehorse had won the prize at the Olympic games; and the third, that Olympias was brought to bed of Alexander. His joy on that occasion was great, as might naturally be expected; and the soothsayers increased it, by assuring him, that his son, who was born in the midst of three victories, must of course prove invincible.

The statues of Alexander that most resembled them, were those of Lysippus, who alone had his permission to represent him in marble. The turn of his head, which leaned a little to one side, and the quickness of his eye, in which many of his friends and successors most affected to imitate him, were best hit off by that artist. Apelles painted him in the character of Jupiter armed with thunder, but did not succeed as to his complexion. He overcharged the colouring, and made his skin too brown; whereas he was fair, with a tinge of red in his face and upon his breast. We read in the memoirs of Aristoxenus, that a most agreeable scent proceeded from his skin, and that his breath and whole body were so fragrant, that they perfumed his under-garments. The cause of this might possibly be his hot temperament. For, as Theophrastus conjectures, it is the concoction of moisture by heat which produces sweet odours; and hence it is that those countries which are driest, and most parched with heat, produce spices of the best kind, and in the greatest quantity;

* This is another mistake Potidæa was taken two years before, viz. in the third year of the one hundred and third Olympiad; for which we have again the authority of Demosthenes, who was Philip's cotemporary, (in Orat. cont. Leptinem) as well as of Diodorus Siculus, l. xvi.

quantity; the ſun exhaling from the ſurface of bodies that moiſture which is the inſtrument of corruption. It ſeems to have been the ſame heat of conſtitution which made Alexander ſo much inclined to drink, and ſo ſubject to paſſion.

His continence ſhewed itſelf at an early period. For, though he was vigorous, or rather violent in his other purſuits, he was not eaſily moved by the pleaſures of the body; and if he taſted them, it was with great moderation. But there was ſomething ſuperlatively great and ſublime in his ambition, far above his years. It was not all ſorts of honour that he courted, nor did he ſeek it in every track, like his father Philip, who was as proud of his eloquence as any ſophiſt could be, and who had the vanity to record his victories in the Olympic chariot-race in the impreſſion of his coins. Alexander, on the other hand, when he was aſked by ſome of the people about him, "Whether he would not run in the Olympic race?" (for he was ſwift of foot) anſwered, "Yes, if I had "kings for my antagoniſts." It appears that he had a perfect averſion to the whole exerciſe of wreſtling*. For, though he exhibited many other ſorts of games and public diverſions, in which he propoſed prizes for tragic poets, for muſicians who practiſed upon the flute and lyre, and for rhapſodiſts too; though he entertained the people with the hunting of all manner of wild beaſts, and with fencing or fighting with the ſtaff, yet he gave no encouragement to boxing or to the *Pancratium* †.

Ambaſſadors from Perſia happened to arrive in the abſence of his father Philip, and Alexander receiving them in his ſtead, gained upon them greatly by his politeneſs and ſolid ſenſe. He aſked them no childiſh or trifling queſtion, but inquired the diſtances of places, and the roads through the upper provinces of Aſia; he deſired to be informed of the character of their king, in what manner he behaved to his enemies, and in what the ſtrength and power of Perſia conſiſted. The ambaſſadors were ſtruck with admiration, and looked upon the celebrated ſhrewdneſs

* Philopœmen, like him had an averſion for wreſtling, becauſe all the exerciſes which fit a man to excel in it, make him unfit for war.

† If it be aſked how this ſhews that Alexander did not love wreſtling, the anſwer is, the *Pancratium* was a mixture of boxing and wreſtling.

neſs of Philip as nothing in compariſon of the lofty and enterpriſing genius of his ſon. Accordingly, whenever news was brought that Philip had taken ſome ſtrong town, or won ſome great battle, the young man, inſtead of appearing delighted with it, uſed to ſay to his companions, "My father will go on conquering, till there be nothing "extraordinary left for you and me to do." As neither pleaſure nor riches, but valour and glory were his great objects, he thought, that in proportion as the dominions he was to receive from his father, grew greater there would be leſs room for him to diſtinguiſh himſelf. Every new acquiſition of territory he conſidered as a dimunition of his ſcene of action; for he did not deſire to inherit a kingdom that would bring him opulence, luxury, and pleaſure, but one that would afford him wars, conflicts, and all the exerciſe of great ambition.

He had a number of tutors and preceptors. Leonidas, a relation of the queen's, and a man of great ſeverity of manners, was at the head of them. He did not like the name of preceptor, though the employment was important and honourable; and, indeed, his dignity and alliance to the royal family gave him the title of the prince's governor. He who had both the name and buſineſs of preceptor, was Lyſimachus, the Arcananian; a man who had neither merit nor politeneſs, nor any thing to recommend him, but his calling himſelf Phœnix; Alexander, Achilles; and Philip, Peleus. This procured him ſome attention, and the ſecond place about the prince's perſon.

When Philonicus, the Theſſalian, offered the horſe named Bucephalus in ſale to Philip, at the price of thirteen talents*, the king, with the prince and many others, went into the field to ſee ſome trial made of him. The horſe appeared extremely vicious and unmanageable, and was ſo far from ſuffering himſelf to be mounted, that he would not bear to be ſpoken to, but turned fiercely upon all the grooms. Philip was diſpleaſed at their bringing him ſo wild

* That is 2518l. 15s. ſterling. This will appear a moderate price, compared with what we find in Varro, (de Re Ruſtic. l. iii. c. 2.) viz. that Q. Axius, a ſenator, gave four hundred thouſand ſeſterces for an aſs; and ſtill more moderate, when compared with the account of Tavernier, that ſome horſes in Arabia were valued at a hundred thouſand crowns.

Pliny, in his Natural Hiſtory, ſays, the price of Bucephalus was ſixteen talents—*Sedecem talentis ferunt ex Philonici Pharſalii grege emptum.* Hiſt. Nat. lib. viii. cap. 42.

wild and ungovernable a horse, add bade them take him away. But Alexander, who had observed him well, said, "What a horse are they losing, for want of skill and spirit to manage him!" Philip at first took no notice of this; but, upon the prince's often repeating the same expression, and shewing great uneasiness, he said, "Young man, you find fault with your elders, as if you knew more than they, or could manage the horse better."—"And I certainly could," answered the prince. "If you should not be able to ride him, what forfeiture will you submit to for your rashness?" "I will pay the price of the horse."

Upon this all the company laughed, but the king and prince agreeing as to the forfeiture, Alexander ran to the horse, and laying hold on the bridle, turned him to the sun; for he had observed, it seems that the shadow which fell before the horse, and continually moved as he moved, greatly disturbed him. While his fierceness and fury lasted, he kept speaking to him softly and stroking him; after which he gently let fall his mantle, leaped lightly upon his back, and got his seat very safe. Then, without pulling the reins too hard, or using either whip or spur, he set him a-going. As soon as he perceived his uneasiness abated, and that he wanted only to run, he put him in a full gallop, and pushed him on both with the voice and the spur.

Philip and all his court were in great distress for him at first, and a profound silence took place. But when the prince had turned him and brought him straight back, they all received him with loud acclamations, except his father, who wept for joy, and, kissing him, said, "Seek another kingdom, my son, that may be worthy of thy abilities; for Macedonia is too small for thee." Perceiving that he did not easily submit to authority, because he would not be forced to any thing, but that he might be led to his duty by the gentler hand of reason, he took the method of persuasion rather than of command. He saw that his education was a matter of too great importance to be trusted to the ordinary masters in music, and the common circle of sciences; and that his genius (to use the expression of Sophocles) required

> The rudder's guidance, and the curb's restraint.

He

He therefore ſent for Ariſtotle, the moſt celebrated and learned of all the philoſophers; and the reward he gave him for forming his ſon was not only honourable, but remarkable for its propriety. He had formerly diſmantled the city of Stagira, where that philoſopher was born, and now he rebuilt it, and re-eſtabliſhed the inhabitants, who had either fled or been reduced to ſlavery*. He alſo prepared a lawn, called Mieza, for their ſtudies and literary converſations; where they ſtill ſhew us Ariſtotle's ſtone ſeats and ſhady walks.

Alexander gained from him not only moral and political knowledge, but was alſo inſtructed in thoſe more ſecret and profound branches of ſcience, which they call *acroamatic* and *epoptic*, and which they did not communicate to every common ſcholar†. For when Alexander was in Aſia, and received information that Ariſtotle had publiſhed ſome books in which thoſe points were diſcuſſed, he wrote him a letter in behalf of philoſophy, in which he blamed the courſe he had taken. The following is a copy of it:

"Alexander to Ariſtotle, proſperity. You did wrong "in publiſhing the *acroamatic* parts of ſcience‡. In what "ſhall we differ from others, if the ſublimer knowledge "which we gained from you, be made common to all the "world? For my part, I had rather excel the bulk of "mankind in the ſuperior parts of learning, than in the "extent of power and dominion. Farewel."

Ariſtotle, in compliment to this ambition of his, and by way of excuſe for himſelf, made anſwer, that thoſe points were publiſhed and not publiſhed. In fact, his book of metaphyſics is written in ſuch a manner, that no one can learn that branch of ſcience from it, much leſs teach it others: It ſerves only to refreſh the memories of thoſe who have been taught by a maſter.

It appears alſo to me, that it was by Ariſtotle rather than any other perſon, that Alexander was aſſiſted in the ſtudy of phyſic, for he not only loved the theory, but the

* Pliny the elder and Valerius Maximus tell us, that Stagira was rebuilt by Alexander, and this when Ariſtotle was very old.

† The ſcholars in general were inſtructed only in the *exoteric* doctrines. Vid. AUL. GELL. lib. xx. cap. 5.

‡ Doctrines taught by private communication, and delivered *viva voce*.

the practice too, as is clear from his epiſtles, where we find that he preſcribed to his friends medicines and a proper *regimen.*

He loved polite learning too, and his natural thirſt of knowledge made him a man of extenſive reading. The Iliad, he thought, as well as called, a portable treaſure of military knowledge; and he had a copy corrected by Ariſtotle, which is called *the caſket copy* *. Oneſicritus informs us, that he uſed to lay it under his pillow with his ſword. As he could not find many other books in the upper provinces of Aſia, he wrote to Harpalus for a ſupply; who ſent him the works of Philiſtus, moſt of the tragedies of Euripides, Sophocles, and Æſchylus, and the Dithyrambics of Teleſtus † and Philoxenus.

Ariſtotle was the man he admired in his younger years, and, as he ſaid himſelf, he had no leſs affection for him than for his own father: "From the one he derived the bleſſing "of life, from the other the bleſſing of a good life." But afterwards he looked upon him with an eye of ſuſpicion. He never, indeed, did the philoſopher any harm; but the teſtimonies of his regard being neither ſo extraordinary nor ſo endearing as before, he diſcovered ſomething of a coldneſs. However, his love of philoſophy, which he was either born with, or at leaſt conceived at an early period, never quitted his ſoul; as appears from the honours he paid Anaxarchus, the fifty talents he ſent Xenocrates ‡, and his attentions to Dandamis and Calanus.

When Philip went upon his expedition againſt Byzantium, Alexander was only ſixteen years of age, yet he was left regent of Macedonia, and keeper of the ſeal. The

* He kept it in a rich caſket found among the ſpoils of Darius. A correct copy of this edition, reviſed by Ariſtotle, Calliſthenes, and Anaxarchus, was publiſhed after the death of Alexander. "Darius," ſaid Alexander, "uſed to keep his ointments in this caſket; but I, who "have no time to anoint myſelf, will convert it to a nobler uſe."

† Teleſtus was a poet of ſome reputation, and a monument was erected to his memory by Ariſtatus the Sycionian tyrant. Protogenes was ſent for to paint this monument, and not arriving within the limited time, was in danger of the tyrant's diſpleaſure; but the celerity and excellence of his execution ſaved him. Philoxenus was his ſcholar. Philiſtus was an hiſtorian often cited by Plutarch.

‡ The philoſopher took but a ſmall part of this money, and ſent the reſt back; telling the giver he had more occaſion for it himſelf, becauſe he had more people to maintain.

The Medari * rebelling during his regency, he attacked and overthrew them, took their city, expelled the barbarians, planted there a colony of people collected from various parts, and gave it the name of Alexandropolis, He fought in the battle of Chæronea against the Greeks, and is said to have been the first man that broke the *sacred band* of Thebans. In our times an old oak was shewn near the Cephisus, called *Alexander's oak,* because his tent had been pitched under it; and a piece of ground at no great distance, in which the Macedonians had buried their dead.

This early display of great talents made Philip very fond of his son, so that it was with pleasure he heard the Macedoniaus call Alexander *king*, and him only *general.* But the troubles which his new marriage and his amours caused in his family, and the bickerings among the women dividing the whole kingdom into parties, involved him in many quarrels with his son; all which were heightened by Olympias, who, being a woman of a jealous and vindictive temper, inspired Alexander with unfavourable sentiments of his father. The misunderstanding broke out into a flame on the following occasion: Philip fell in love with a young lady named Cleopatra, at an unseasonable time of life, and married her. When they were celebrating the nuptials, her uncle Attalus, intoxicated with liquor, desired the Macedonians to intreat the gods that this marriage of Philip and Cleopatra might produce a lawful heir to the crown. Alexander, provoked at this, said, "What then, dost thou take me for a bastard?" and at the same time he threw his cup at his head. Hereupon Philip rose up and drew his sword; but, fortunately for them both, his passion and the wine he had drank, made him stumble, and he fell. Alexander, taking an insolent advantage of this circumstance, said, "Men of Macedon, "see there the man who was preparing to pass from "Europe into Asia! he is not able to pass from one table "to another without falling." After this insult, he carried off Olympias, and placed her in Epirus. Illyricum was the country he pitched upon for his own retreat.

In

* We know of no such people as the Medari; but a people called Mædi there was in Thrace, who, as Livy tells us, (l. xxvi.) used to make inroads into Macedonia.

In the mean time, Demaratus, who had engagements of hoſpitality with the royal family of Macedon, and who, on that account, could ſpeak his mind freely, came to pay Philip a viſit. After the firſt civilities, Philip aſked him "What ſort of agreement ſubſiſted among the Greeks?" Demaratus anſwered, "There is, doubtleſs, much propriety in your inquiring after the harmony of Greece, who have filled your own houſe with ſo much diſcord and diſorder." This reproof brought Philip to himſelf, and through the mediation of Demaratus, he prevailed with Alexander to return.

But another event ſoon diſturbed their repoſe. Pexodorus, the Perſian governor in Caria, being deſirous to draw Philip into a league offenſive and defenſive, by means of an alliance between their families, offered his eldeſt daughter in marriage to Aridæus, the ſon of Philip, and ſent Ariſtocritus into Macedonia to treat about it. Alexander's friends and his mother now infuſed notions into him again, though perfectly groundleſs, that, by ſo noble a match, and the ſupport conſequent upon it, Philip deſigned the crown for Aridæus.

Alexander, in the uneaſineſs theſe ſuſpicions gave him, ſent one Theſſalus, a player, into Caria, to deſire the grandee to paſs by Aridæus, who was of ſpurious birth, and deficient in point of underſtanding, and to take the lawful heir to the crown into his alliance. Pexodorus was infinitely more pleaſed with this propoſal. But Philip no ſooner had intelligence of it, than he went to Alexander's apartment, taking along with him Philotas, the ſon of Parmenio, one of his moſt intimate friends and companions, and, in his preſence, reproached him with his degeneracy, and meanneſs of ſpirit, in thinking of being ſon-in-law to a man of Caria, one of the ſlaves of a barbarian king. At the ſame time he wrote to the Corinthians*, inſiſting that they ſhould ſend Theſſalus to him in chains. Harpalus and Niarchus, Phrygius and Ptolemy, ſome of the other companions of the prince, he baniſhed. But Alexander afterwards recalled them, and treated them with great diſtinction.

Some time after the Carian negociation, Pauſanias being abuſed by order of Attalus and Cleopatra and not having

* Theſſalus, upon his return from Aſia, muſt have retired to Corinth; for the Corinthians had nothing to do in Caria.

having juſtice done him for the outrage, killed Philip who refuſed that juſtice. Olympias was thought to have been principally concerned in inciting the young man to that act of revenge; but Alexander did not eſcape uncenſured. It is ſaid that when Pauſanias applied to him, after having been ſo diſhonoured, and lamented his misfortune, Alexander, by way of anſwer, repeated that line in the tragedy of Medea*,

The bridal father, bridegroom, and the bride.

It muſt be acknowledged, however, that he cauſed diligent ſearch to be made after the perſons concerned in the aſſaſſination, and took care to have them puniſhed; and he expreſſed his indignation at Olympias's cruel treatment of Cleopatra in his abſence.

He was only twenty years old when he ſucceeded to the crown, and he found the kingdom torn in pieces by dangerous parties, and implacable animoſities. The barbarous nations, even thoſe that bordered upon Macedonia, could not brook ſubjection, and they longed for their natural kings. Philip had ſubdued Greece by his victorious arms, but not having had time to accuſtom her to the yoke, he had thrown matters into confuſion, rather than produced any firm ſettlement, and he left the whole in a tumultuous ſtate. The young king's Macedonian counſellors, alarmed at the troubles which threatened him, adviſed him to give up Greece entirely, or at leaſt to make no attempts upon it with the ſword; and to recal the wavering barbarians in a mild manner to their duty, by applying healing meaſures to the beginning of the revolt. Alexander on the contrary, was of opinion, that the only way to ſecurity, and a thorough eſtabliſhment of his affairs

* This is the 288th verſe of the Medea of Euripides. To give the context, Creon ſays,

Κλυω δ' απειλειν, ως απαγγελλουσι μοι
Τον δοντα, και γαμοντα, και γαμουμενην
Δρασειν τι——

The perſons meant in the tragedy were Jaſon, Creuſa, and Creon; and in Alexander's application of it, Philp is the bridegroom, Cleopatra the bride, and Attalus the father.

Cleopatra, the niece of Attalus, is by Arrian called Eurydice, l. ii. c. 14.

affairs, was to proceed with ſpirit and magnanimity. For he was perſuaded, that if he appeared to abate of his dignity in the leaſt article, he would be univerſally inſulted. He therefore quieted the commotions, and put a ſtop to the riſing wars among the barbarians, by marching with the utmoſt expedition as far as the Danube, where he fought a great battle with Syrmus, king of the Triballi, and defeated him.

Some time after this, having intelligence that the Thebans had revolted, and that the Athenians had adopted the ſame ſentiments, he reſolved to ſhew them he was no longer a boy, and advanced immediately through the paſs of Thermopylæ. "Demoſthenes," ſaid he, "called me "a boy, while I was in Illyricum, and among the Tri- "balli, and a ſtripling when in Theſſaly; but I will ſhew "him before the walls of Athens that I am a man."

When he made his appearance before Thebes, he was willing to give the inhabitants time to change their ſentiments. He only demanded Phœnix and Prothytes, the firſt promoters of the revolt, and proclaimed an amneſty to all the reſt. But the Thebans, in their turn, demanded that he ſhould deliver up to them Philotas and Antipater, and invited, by ſound of trumpet, all men to join them, who choſe to aſſiſt in recovering the liberty of Greece. Alexander then gave the reins to the Macedonians, and the war began with great fury. The Thebans, who had the combat to maintain againſt forces vaſtly ſuperior in number, behaved with a courage and ardour far above their ſtrength. But when the Macedonian garriſon fell down from the Cadmea, and charged them in the rear, they were ſurrounded on all ſides, and moſt of them cut in pieces. The city was taken, plundered, and levelled with the ground.

Alexander expected that the reſt of Greece, aſtoniſhed and intimidated by ſo dreadful a puniſhment of the Thebans, would ſubmit in ſilence. Yet he found a more plauſible pretence for his ſeverity; giving out that his late proceedings were intended to gratify his allies, being adopted in purſuance of complaints made againſt Thebes by the people of Phocis and Platæa. He exempted the prieſts, all that the Macedonians were bound to by the ties of hoſpitality, the poſterity of Pindar, and ſuch as had oppoſed the revolt: The reſt he ſold for ſlaves, to the number of thirty thouſand.

thousand. There were above six thousand killed in the battle.

The calamities which that wretched city suffered, were various and horrible. A party of Thracians demolished the house of Timoclea, a woman of quality and honour.—The soldiers carried off the booty; and the captain, after having violated the lady, asked her whether she had not some gold and silver concealed. She said she had; and taking him alone into the garden, shewed him a well, into which, she told him, she had thrown every thing of value, when the city was taken. The officer stooped down to examine the well; upon which she pushed him in, and then despatched him with stones. The Thracians coming up, seized and bound her hands, and carried her before Alexander, who immediately perceived by her look and gait, and the fearless manner in which she followed that savage crew, that she was a woman of quality and superior sentiments. The king demanded who she was? She answered, "I am the sister of Theagenes, who, in capacity "of general, fought Philip for the liberty of Greece, and "fell in the battle of Chæronea." Alexander, admiring her answer, and the bold action she had performed, commanded her to be set at liberty, and her children with her.

As for the Athenians, he forgave them, though they expressed great concern at the misfortune of Thebes. For, though they were upon the point of celebrating the feast of the great mysteries, they omitted it on account of the mourning that took place, and received such of the Thebans as escaped the general wreck, with all imaginable kindness into their city. But whether his fury, like that of a lion, was satiated with blood, or whether he had a mind to efface a most cruel and barbarous action by an act of clemency, he not only overlooked the complaints he had against them, but desired them to look well to their affairs, because if any thing happened to him, Athens would give law to Greece.

It is said, the calamities he brought upon the Thebans, gave him uneasiness long after, and, on that account, he treated many others with less rigour. It is certain he imputed the murder of Clitus, which he committed in his wine, and the Macedonians' dastardly refusal to proceed in the Indian expedition, through which his wars and his glory were left imperfect, to the anger of Bacchus, the avenger

avenger of Thebes. And there was not a Theban who ſurvived the fatal overthrow, that was denied any favour he requeſted of him. Thus much concerning the Theban war.

A general aſſembly of the Greeks being held at the Iſthmus of Corinth, they came to a reſolution to ſend their quotas with Alexander againſt the Perſians, and he was unanimouſly elected captain-general. Many ſtateſmen and philoſophers came to congratulate him on the occaſion; and he hoped that Diogenes of Sinope, who then lived at Corinth, would be of the number. Finding, however, that he made but little account of Alexander, and that he preferred the enjoyment of his leiſure in a part of the ſuburbs called Cranium, he went to ſee him. Diogenes happened to be lying in the ſun; and at the approach of ſo many people, he raiſed himſelf up a little, and fixed his eyes upon Alexander. The king addreſſed him in an obliging manner, and aſked him, "If there was any "thing he could ſerve him in?" "Only ſtand a little out "of my ſun-ſhine," ſaid Diogenes. Alexander, we are told, was ſtruck with ſuch ſurpriſe at finding himſelf ſo little regarded, and ſaw ſomething ſo great in that careleſſneſs, that, while his courtiers were ridiculing the philoſopher as a monſter, he ſaid, "If I were not Alexander, "I ſhould wiſh to be Diogenes."

He choſe to conſult the oracle about the event of the war, and for that purpoſe went to Delphi. He happened to arrive there on one of the days called inauſpicious, upon which the law permitted no man to put his queſtion. At firſt he ſent to the propheteſs, to intreat her to do her office; but finding ſhe refuſed to comply, and alleged the law in her excuſe, he went himſelf, and drew her by force into the temple. Then, as if conquered by his violence, ſhe ſaid, "My ſon, thou art invincible." Alexander, hearing this, ſaid, "He wanted no other anſwer, for he "had the very oracle he deſired."

When he was on the point of ſetting out upon his expedition, he had many ſigns from the divine powers. Among the reſt, the ſtatue of Orpheus in Libethra*, which

* This Libethra was in the country of the Odryſæ in Thrace. But beſide this city or mountain in Thrace, there was *the Cave of the Nymphs* of Libethra on Mount Helicon, probably ſo denominated by Orpheus.

which was of cypreſs wood, was in a profuſe ſweat for ſeveral days. The generality apprehended this to be an ill preſage; but Ariſtander bade them diſmiſs their fears.—"It ſignified," he ſaid, "that Alexander would perform "actions ſo worthy to be celebrated, that they would coſt "the poets and muſicians much labour and ſweat."

As to the number of his troops, thoſe that put it at the leaſt, ſay, he carried over thirty thouſand foot, and five thouſand horſe; and they who put it at the moſt, tell us, his army conſiſted of thirty-four thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe. The money provided for their ſubſiſtence and pay, according to Ariſtobulus, was only ſeventy talents; Duris ſays, he had no more than would maintain them one month; but Oneſicritus affirms, that he borrowed two hundred talents for that purpoſe.

However, though his proviſion was ſo ſmall, he choſe, at his embarkation, to inquire into the circumſtances of his friends; and to one he gave a farm, to another a village; to this the revenue of a borough, and to that of a poſt. When in this manner he had diſpoſed of almoſt all the eſtates of the crown, Perdiccas aſked him, "What he "had reſerved for himſelf?" The king anſwered "Hope." "Well," replied Perdiccas, "we who ſhare in your labours, "will alſo take part in your hopes." In conſequence of which, he refuſed the eſtate allotted him, and ſome others of the king's friends did the ſame. As for thoſe who accepted his offers, or applied to him for favours, he ſerved them with equal pleaſure; and by theſe means moſt of his Macedonian revenues were diſtributed and gone. Such was the ſpirit and diſpoſition with which he paſſed the Helleſpont.

As ſoon as he landed, he went up to Ilium, where he ſacrificed to Minerva, and offered libations to the heroes. He alſo anointed the pillar upon Achilles's tomb with oil, and ran round it with his friends, naked, according to the cuſtom that obtains; after which he put a crown upon it, declaring, "He thought that hero extremely happy, in "having found a faithful friend while he lived, and after "his death an excellent herald to ſet forth his praiſe." As he went about the city to look upon the curioſities, he was aſked, whether he choſe to ſee Paris's lyre? "I ſet but "little value," ſaid he, "upon the lyre of Paris; but it "would

"would give me pleaſure to ſee that of Achilles, to which "he ſung the glorious actions of the brave."

In the mean time, Darius's generals had aſſembled a great army, and taken poſt upon the banks of the Granicus; ſo that Alexander was under the neceſſity of fighting there, to open the gates of Aſia. Many of his officers were apprehenſive of the depth of the river, and the rough and uneven banks on the other ſide; and ſome thought a proper regard ſhould be paid to a traditionary uſage with reſpect to the time. For the kings of Macedon uſed never to march out to war in the month *Daiſius*. Alexander cured them of this piece of ſuperſtition, by ordering that month to be called *the ſecond Artemiſius*. And when Parmenio objected to his attempting a paſſage ſo late in the day, he ſaid, "The Helleſpont would bluſh, if after "having paſſed it, he ſhould be afraid of the Granicus." At the ſame time he threw himſelf into the ſtream with thirteen troops of horſe; and as he advanced in the face of the enemy's arrows, in ſpite of the ſteep banks, which were lined with cavalry well-armed, and of the rapidity of the river, which often bore him down or covered him with its waves, his motions ſeemed rather the effects of madneſs than ſound ſenſe. He held on, however, till, by great and ſurpriſing efforts, he gained the oppoſite banks, which the mud made extremely ſlippery and dangerous.—When he was there, he was forced to ſtand an engagement with the enemy, hand to hand, and with great confuſion on his part, becauſe they attacked his men as faſt as they came over, before he had time to form them. For the Perſian troops charging with loud ſhouts, and with horſe againſt horſe, made good uſe of their ſpears, and, when thoſe were broken, of their ſwords.

Numbers preſſed hard on Alexander, becauſe he was eaſy to be diſtinguiſhed both by his buckler, and by his creſt, on each ſide of which was a large and beautiful plume of white feathers. His cuiraſs was pierced by a javelin at the joint. But he eſcaped unhurt. After this, Rhœſaces and Spithridates, two officers of great diſtinction, attacked

* This alludes to that paſſage in the ninth book of the Iliad:

"Amus'd at eaſe the godlike man they found,
"Pleas'd with the ſolemn harp's harmonious ſound;
"With theſe he ſoothes his angry ſoul, and ſings
"Th' immortal deeds of heroes and of kings." POPE.

attacked him at once. He avoided Spithridates with great address, and received Rhœsaces with such a stroke of his spear upon his breast-plate, that it broke in pieces. Then he drew his sword to despatch him, but his adversary still maintained the combat. Meantime, Spithridates came up on one side of him, and raising himself up on his horse, gave him a blow with his battle-ax, which cut off his crest, with one side of the plume. Nay, the force of it was such, that the helmet could hardly resist it; it even penetrated to his hair. Spithridates was going to repeat his stroke, when the celebrated Clitus * prevented him, by running him through the body with his spear. At the same time Alexander brought Rhœsaces to the ground with his sword.

While the cavalry were fighting with so much fury, the Macedonian phalanx passed the river, and then the infantry likewise engaged. The enemy made no great or long resistance, but soon turned their backs and fled, all but the Grecian mercenaries, who making a stand upon an eminence, desired Alexander to give his word of honour that they should be spared. But that prince, influenced rather by his passion than his reason, instead of giving them quarter, advanced to attack them, and was so warmly received, that he had his horse killed under him. It was not, however, the famous Bucephalus. In this dispute, he had more of his men killed and wounded, than in all the rest of the battle; for here they had to do with experienced soldiers, who fought with a courage heightened by despair.

The barbarians, we are told, lost in this battle twenty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse†; whereas Alexander had no more than thirty-four men killed‡, nine

* In the original it is Κλειτος ὁ μεγας, *Clitus the Great.* But in Diodorus, (502 & 503) we find Κλειτος ὁ μελας, *Clitus the Black*; and Athenæus (539, C.) mentions Κλειτος ὁ λευκος, *a Clitus the Fair.* Plutarch, therefore, probably wrote it, ὁ μελας.

† Some manuscripts mention only ten thousand foot killed, which is the number we have in Diodorus (505.) Arrian (p. 45.) makes the number of horse killed only a thousand.

‡ Arrian (47.) says, there were about twenty-five of the king's *friends* killed; and of persons of less note, sixty horse and thirty foot. Q. Curtius informs us, it was only the twenty-five *friends*, who had statues. They were erected at Dia, a city of Macedonia, from whence Q. Metellus removed them long after, and carried them to Rome.

nine of which were the infantry. To do honour to their memory, he erected a ſtatue to each of them in braſs, the workmanſhip of Lyſippus. And that the Greeks might have their ſhare in the glory of the day, he ſent them preſents out of the ſpoil: To the Athenians in particular he ſent three hundred bucklers. Upon the reſt of the ſpoils he put this pompous inſcription, WON BY ALEXANDER THE SON OF PHILIP, AND THE GREEKS, (EXCEPTING THE LACEDÆMONIANS) OF THE BARBARIANS IN ASIA. The greateſt part of the plate, the purple furniture, and other things of that kind which he took from the Perſians, he ſent to his mother.

This battle made a great and immediate change in the face of Alexander's affairs; inſomuch that Sardis, the principal ornament of the Perſian empire on the maritime ſide, made its ſubmiſſion. All the other cities followed its example, except Halicarnaſſus and Miletus; theſe he took by ſtorm, and ſubdued all the adjacent country. After this he remained ſome time in ſuſpenſe as to the courſe he ſhould take. One while he was for going, with great expedition, to riſk all upon the fate of one battle with Darius; another while he was for firſt reducing all the maritime provinces; that when he had exerciſed and ſtrengthened himſelf by thoſe intermediate actions and acquiſitions, he might then march againſt that prince.

There is a ſpring in Lycia near the city of the Xanthians, which, they tell us, at that time turned its courſe of its own accord, and overflowing its banks, threw up a plate of braſs, upon which were engraved certain ancient characters, ſignifying "That the Perſian empire would one "day come to a period, and be deſtroyed by the Greeks." Encouraged by this prophecy, he haſtened to reduce all the coaſt, as far as Phœnice * and Cilicia. His march through Pamphylia has afforded matter to many hiſtorians for pompous deſcription, as if it was by the interpoſition of Heaven, that the ſea retired before Alexander, which, at other times, run there with ſo ſtrong a current, that the breaker-rocks at the foot of the mountain very ſeldom were left bare. Menander, in his pleaſant way, refers to this pretended miracle in one of his comedies.

How

* This Phœnice, as Palermius has obſerved, was a diſtrict of Lycia or Pamphylia.

How like great ALEXANDER! do I ſeek
A friend? Spontaneous he preſents himſelf.
Have I to march where ſeas indignant roll?
The ſea retires, and there I march.

But Alexander himſelf, in his Epiſtles, makes no miracle of it *; he only ſays, "He marched from Phaſelis, by the "way called *Climax*."

He had ſtayed ſome time at Phaſelis; and having found in the market-place a ſtatue of Theodectes, who was of that place, but then dead, he went out one evening when he had drank freely at ſupper, in maſquerade, and covered the ſtatue with garlands. Thus, in an hour of feſtivity, he paid an agreeable compliment to the memory of a man with whom he had formerly had a connection, by means of Ariſtotle and philoſophy.

After this he ſubdued ſuch of the Piſidians as had revolted, and conquered Phrygia. Upon taking Gordium, which is ſaid to have been the ſeat of the ancient Midas, he found the famed chariot, faſtened with cords, made f the bark of the cornel-tree, and was informed of a tradition, firmly believed among the barbarians, "That the "Fates had decreed the empire of the world to the man "who ſhould untie the knot." Moſt hiſtorians ſay, it was twiſted ſo many private ways, and the ends ſo artfully concealed within, that Alexander, finding he could not untie it, cut it aſunder with his ſword, and ſo made many ends inſtead of two. But Ariſtobulus affirms, that he eaſily undid it, by taking out the pin which faſtened the yoke to the beam, and then drawing out the yoke itſelf.

His

* There is likewiſe a paſſage in Strabo, which fully proves that there was no miracle in it—"Near the city of Phaſelis," ſays he, "between Lycia and Pamphylia, there is a paſſage by the ſea-ſide, thro' "which Alexander marched his army. This paſſage is very narrow, "and lies between the ſhore and the mountain Climax, which over-"looks the Pamphylian ſea. It is dry at low water, ſo that travellers "paſs through it with ſafety; but when the ſea is high it is over-"flowed. It was then the winter ſeaſon, and Alexander, who de-"pended much upon his good fortune, was reſolved to ſet out without "ſtaying till the floods were abated; ſo that his men were forced to "march up to the middle in water." STRAB. lib. xiv.

Joſephus refers to this paſſage of Alexander, to gain the more credit among the Greeks and Romans to the paſſage of the Iſraelites through the Red Sea.

His next acquisitions were Paphlagonia and Cappadocia; and there news was brought him of the death of Memnon *, who was the most respectable officer Darius had in the maritime parts of his kingdom, and likely to have given the invader most trouble. This confirmed him in his resolution of marching into the upper provinces of Asia.

By this time Darius had taken his departure from Susa, full of confidence in his numbers, for his army consisted of no less than six hundred thousand combatants; and greatly encouraged besides by a dream, which the *Magi* had interpreted rather in the manner they thought would please him, than with a regard to probability. He dreamed, "That he saw the Macedonian phalanx all on fire, "and that Alexander, in the dress which he, Darius, "had formerly worn, when one of the king's couriers †, "acted as his servant; after which Alexander went into "the temple of Belus, and there suddenly disappeared." By this heaven seems to have signified, that prosperity and honour would attend the Macedonians; and that Alexander would become master of Asia, like Darius before him, who, of a simple courier, became a king; but that he would nevertheless soon die, and leave his glory behind him.

* Upon the death of Memnon, who had begun with great success to reduce the Greek Islands, and was on the point of invading Eubœa, Darius was at a loss whom to employ. While he was in this suspense, Charidemus, an Athenian, who had served with great reputation under Philip of Macedon, but was now very zealous for the Persian interest, attempted to set the king and his ministers right. "While you, Sir," said he to Darius, "are safe, the empire can never be in great danger. "Let me, therefore, exhort you never to expose your person, but to "make choice of some able general to march against your enemy. One "hundred thousand men will be more than sufficient, provided a third "of them be mercenaries, to compel him to abandon this enterprize; "and if you will honour me with the command, I will be accountable "for the success of what I advise." Darius was ready to accede to the proposal; but the Persian grandees, through envy, accused Charidemus of a treasonable design, and effected his ruin. Darius repented in a few days, but it was then too late. That able counsellor and general was condemned and executed. DIOD. SIC. l. xvii. CURT. l. iii.

† In the text Ασγανδης. But it appears from Hesychius and Suidas, that it should be read Αςανδης. It is the Persian word *istanda*, stator, (from *stade*, stare) with a Greek termination; and we learn from Cicero, that *stator* signifies a courier.

Darius was ſtill more encouraged by Alexander's long ſtay in Cilicia, which he looked upon as the effect of his fear. But the real cauſe of his ſtay was ſickneſs, which ſome attribute to his great fatigues, and others to his bathing in the river Cydnus, whoſe water is extremely cold. His phyſicians durſt not give him any medicines, becauſe they thought themſelves not ſo certain of the cure, as of the danger they muſt incur in the application; for they feared, the Macedonians, if they did not ſucceed, would ſuſpect them of ſome bad practice. Philip, the Acarnanian, ſaw how deſperate the king's caſe was, as well as the reſt; but, beſide the confidence he had in his friendſhip, he thought it the higheſt ingratitude, when his maſter was in ſo much danger, not to riſk ſomething with him, in exhauſting all his art for his relief. He therefore attempted the cure, and found no difficulty in perſuading the king to wait with patience till his medicine was prepared, or to take it when ready; ſo deſirous was he of a ſpeedy recovery, in order to proſecute the war.

In the mean time, Parmenio ſent him a letter from the camp, adviſing him "To beware of Philip, whom," he ſaid, "Darius had prevailed upon, by preſents of infi-"nite value, and the promiſe of his daughter in marriage, "to take him off by poiſon." As ſoon as Alexander had read the letter, he put it under his pillow, without ſhewing it to any of his friends. The time appointed being come, Philip, with the king's friends, entered the chamber, having the cup which contained the medicine in his hand. The king received it freely, without the leaſt marks of ſuſpicion, and at the ſame time put the letter in his hands. It was a ſtriking ſituation, and more intereſting than any ſcene in a tragedy; the one reading while the other was drinking. They looked upon each other, but with a very different air. The king, with an open and unembarraſſed countenance, expreſſed his regard for Philip, and the confidence he had in his honour; Philip's look ſhewed his indignation at the calumny. One while he lifted up his eyes and hands to heaven, proteſting his fidelity; another while he threw himſelf down by the bedſide, intreating his maſter to be of good courage and truſt to his care.

The medicine, indeed, was ſo ſtrong, and overpowered his ſpirits in ſuch a manner, that at firſt he was ſpeechleſs,

less, and discovered scarce any sign of sense or life. But afterwards he was soon relieved by this faithful physician*, and recovered so well that he was able to shew himself to the Macedonians, whose distress did not abate till he came personally before them.

There was in the army of Darius a Macedonian fugitive, named Amyntas, who knew perfectly well the disposition of Alexander. This man, perceiving that Darius prepared to march through the straits in quest of Alexander, begged of him to remain where he was, and take the advantage of receiving an enemy, so much inferior to him in number, upon large and spacious plains. Darius answered, "He was afraid in that case the enemy would "fly without coming to an action, and Alexander escape "him." "If that is all your fear," replied the Macedonian, "let it give you no farther uneasiness; for he "will come to seek you, and is already on his march." However, his representations had no effect: Darius set out for Cilicia; and Alexander was making for Syria in quest of him. But happening to miss each other in the night, they both turned back; Alexander rejoicing in his good fortune, and hastening to meet Darius in the straits; while Darius endeavoured to disengage himself, and recover his former camp. For by this time he was sensible of his error in throwing himself into ground hemmed in by the sea on one side, and the mountains on the other, and intersected by the river Pinarus; so that it was impracticable for cavalry, and his infantry could only act in small and broken parties, while, at the same time, this situation was extremely convenient for the enemy's inferior numbers.

Thus fortune befriended Alexander as to the scene of action; but the skilful disposition of his forces contributed still more to his gaining the victory. As his army was very small in comparison of that of Darius, he took care to draw it up so as to prevent its being surrounded, by stretching out his right wing farther than the enemy's left. In that wing he acted in person, and, fighting in the foremost ranks, put the barbarians to flight. He was wounded, however, in the thigh, and, according to Chares, by Darius, who engaged him hand to hand. But Alexander, in the account he gave Antipater

* In three days time.

pater of the battle, does not mention who it was that wounded him. He only ſays, he received a wound in his thigh by a ſword, and that no dangerous conſequences followed it.

The victory was a very ſignal one; for he killed above a hundred and ten thouſand of the enemy *. Nothing was wanting to complete it but the taking of Darius; and that prince eſcaped narrowly, having got the ſtart of his purſuer only by four or five furlongs. Alexander took his chariot and his bow, and returned with them to his Macedonians. He found them loading themſelves with the plunder of the enemy's camp, which was rich and various; though Darius, to make his troops fitter for action, had left moſt of the baggage in Damaſcus. The Macedonians had reſerved for their maſter the tent of Darius, in which he found officers of the houſehold manificently cloathed, rich furniture, and great quantities of gold and ſilver.

As ſoon as he had put off his armour, he went to the bath, ſaying to thoſe about him, "Let us go and refreſh "ourſelves, after the fatigues of the field, in the bath of "Darius." "Nay, rather," ſaid one of his friends, "in the bath of Alexander; for the goods of the con-"quered are, and ſhould be called, the conqueror's." When he had taken a view of the baſons, vials, boxes, and other vaſes curiouſly wrought in gold, ſmelled the fragrant odours of eſſences, and ſeen the ſplendid furniture of ſpacious apartments, he turned to his friends, and ſaid, "This, then, it ſeems, it was to be a king †!"

As he was ſitting down to table, an account was brought him, that among the priſoners were the mother and wife of Darius, and two unmarried daughters; and that upon ſeeing his chariot and bow, they broke out into great lamentations, concluding that he was dead. Alexander, after ſome pauſe, during which he was rather commiſerating their misfortunes, than rejoicing in his own ſucceſs, ſent Leonatus to aſſure them, "That Darius was not dead; "that they had nothing to fear from Alexander, for his "diſpute with Darius was only for empire; and that they "ſhould

* Diodorus ſays a hundred and thirty thouſand.

† As if he had ſaid, "Could a king place his happineſs in ſuch "enjoyments as theſe?" For Alexander was not, till long after this, corrupted by the Perſian luxury.

"should find themselves provided for in the same manner, "as when Darius was in his greatest prosperity." If this message to the captive princesses was gracious and humane, his actions were still more so. He allowed them to do the funeral honours to what Persians they pleased, and for that purpose furnished them out of the spoils with robes, and all the other decorations that were customary. They had as many domestics, and were served in all respects, in as honourable a manner as before; indeed, their appointments were greater. But there was another part of his behaviour to them still more noble and princely. Though they were now captives, he considered that they were ladies, not only of high rank, but of great modesty and virtue, and took care that they should not hear an indecent word, nor have the least cause to suspect any danger to their honour. Nay, as if they had been in a holy temple, or asylum of virgins, rather than in an enemy's camp, they lived unseen and unapproached, in the most sacred privacy.

It is said, the wife of Darius was one of the most beautiful women, as Darius was one of the tallest and handsomest men in the world, and that their daughters much resembled them. But Alexander, no doubt, thought it more glorious and worthy of a king to conquer himself, than to subdue his enemies, and therefore, never approached one of them. Indeed, his continence was such, that he knew not any woman before his marriage, except Barsine, who became a widow by the death of her husband Memnon, and was taken prisoner near Damascus. She was well versed in the Greek literature, a woman of the most agreeable temper, and of royal extraction; for her father Artabazus was grandson to a king of Persia *. According to Aristobulus, it was Parmenio that put Alexander upon this connection with so accomplished a woman, whose beauty was her least perfection. As for the other female captives, though they were tall and beautiful, Alexander took no farther notice of them than to say, by way of jest, "What eye-sores these Persian women are!" He found a counter-charm in the beauty of self government and sobriety; and, in the strength of that, passed them by, as so many statues.

Philoxenus,

* Son to a king of Persia's daughter.

Philoxenus, who commanded his forces upon the coaſt, acquainted him by letter, that there was one Theodorus, a Tarentine, with him, who had two beautiful boys to ſell, and deſired to know whether he choſe to buy them. Alexander was ſo much incenſed at this application, that he aſked his friends ſeveral times, "What baſe inclina-"tions Philoxenus had ever ſeen in him, that he durſt "make him ſo infamous a propoſal?" In his anſwer to the letter, which was extremely ſevere upon Philoxenus, he ordered him to diſmiſs Theodorus and his vile merchandize together. He likewiſe reprimanded young Agnon, for offering to purchaſe Crobylus for him, whoſe beauty was famous in Corinth. Being informed, that two Macedonians, named Damon and Timotheus, had corrupted the wives of ſome of his mercenaries, who ſerved under Parmenio, he ordered that officer to inquire into the affair, and if they were found guilty, to put them to death, as no better than ſavages bent on the deſtruction of human kind. In the ſame letter, ſpeaking of his own conduct, he expreſſes himſelf in theſe terms: "For my part, I "have neither ſeen, nor deſired to ſee, the wife of Darius; "ſo far from that, I have not ſuffered any man to ſpeak "of her beauty before me." He uſed to ſay, "That "ſleep, and the commerce with the ſex, were the things "that made him moſt ſenſible of his mortality." For he conſidered both wearineſs and pleaſure as the natural effects of our weakneſs.

He was alſo very temperate in eating. Of this there are many proofs; and we have a remarkable one in what he ſaid to Ada, whom he called his mother, and had made queen of Caria*. Ada, to expreſs her affectionate regards, ſent him every day a number of excellent diſhes and a handſome deſert; and at laſt ſhe ſent him ſome of her beſt cooks and bakers. But he ſaid, "He had no need of "them; for he had been ſupplied with better cooks by "his tutor Leonidas; a march before day to dreſs his "dinner, and a light dinner to prepare his ſupper."

He

* This Princeſs, after the death of her eldeſt brother Mauſolus, and his conſort Artemiſia, who died without children, ſucceeded to the throne with her brother Hidreus, to whom ſhe had been married. Hidreus dying before her, Pexodorus, her third brother, dethroned her, and after his death his ſon-in-law Orontes ſeized the crown. But Alexander reſtored her to the poſſeſſion of her dominions.

He added, that "the ſame Leonidas uſed to examine the "cheſts and wardrobes in which his bedding and clothes "were put, leſt ſomething of luxury and ſuperfluity ſhould "be introduced there by his mother."

Nor was he ſo much addicted to wine as he was thought to be. It was ſuppoſed ſo, becauſe he paſſed a great deal of time at table; but that time was ſpent rather in talking than drinking; every cup introducing ſome long diſcourſe. Beſides, he never made theſe long meals but when he had abundance of leiſure upon his hands. When buſineſs called, he was not to be detained by wine, or ſleep, or pleaſure, or honourable love, or the moſt entertaining ſpectacle, though the motions of other generals have been retarded by ſome of theſe things. His life ſufficiently confirms this aſſertion; for, though very ſhort, he performed in it innumerable great actions.

On his days of leiſure, as ſoon as he was riſen he ſacrificed to the gods; after which he took his dinner ſitting. The reſt of the day he ſpent in hunting, or deciding the differences among his troops, or in reading and writing. If he was upon a march which did not require haſte, he would exerciſe himſelf in ſhooting and darting the javelin, or in mounting and alighting from a chariot at full ſpeed. Sometimes alſo he diverted himſelf with fowling and fox-hunting, as we find by his journals.

On his return to his quarters, when he went to be refreſhed with the bath and with oil, he inquired of the ſtewards of his kitchen, whether they had prepared every thing in a handſome manner for ſupper. It was not till late in the evening, and when night was come on, that he took this meal, and then he eat in a recumbent poſture. He was very attentive to his gueſts at table, that they might be ſerved equally, and none neglected. His entertainments, as we have already obſerved, laſted many hours; but they were lengthened out rather by converſation than drinking. His converſation, in many reſpects, was more agreeable than that of moſt princes, for he was not deficient in the graces of ſociety. His only fault was his retaining ſo much of the ſoldier *, as to indulge a troubleſome vanity. He would not only boaſt of his own actions, but

* The ancients, in their comic pieces, uſed always to put the Rhodomontades in the character of a ſoldier. At preſent the army have as little vanity, as any ſet of people whatever.

but ſuffered himſelf to be cajoled by flatterers to an amazing degree. Theſe wretches were an intolerable burden to the reſt of the company, who did not chooſe to contend with them in adulation, nor yet to appear behind them in their opinion of their king's achievements.

As to delicacies, he had ſo little regard for them, that when the choiceſt fruit and fiſh were brought him from diſtant countries and ſeas, he would ſend ſome to each of his friends, and he very often left none for himſelf. Yet there was always a magnificence at his table, and the expence roſe with his fortune, till it came to ten thouſand *drachmas* for one entertainment. There it ſtood; and he did not ſuffer thoſe that invited him to exceed that ſum.

After the battle of Iſſus he ſent to Damaſcus, and ſeized the money and equipages of the Perſians, together with their wives and children. On that occaſion the Theſſalian cavalry enriched themſelves moſt. They had, indeed, greatly diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the action, and they were favoured with this commiſſion, that they might have the beſt ſhare in the ſpoil. Not but the reſt of the army found ſufficient booty; and the Macedonians having once taſted the treaſures and the luxury of the barbarians, hunted for the Perſian wealth, with all the ardour of hounds upon ſcent.

It appeared to Alexander a matter of great importance, before he went farther, to gain the maritime powers. Upon application, the kings of Cyprus and Phœnicia made their ſubmiſſion: only Tyre held out. He beſieged that city ſeven months, during which time he erected vaſt mounts of earth, plied it with his engines, and inveſted it on the ſide next the ſea with two hundred galleys. * He had a dream in which he ſaw Hercules offering him his hand from the wall, and inviting him to enter. And many of the Tyrians dreamed, "That Apollo declared he "would go over to Alexander, becauſe he was diſpleaſed "with their behaviour in the town." Hereupon, the Tyrians,

* One of the Tyrians dreamed, he ſaw Apollo flying from the city. Upon his reporting this to the people, they would have ſtoned him, ſuppoſing that he did it to intimidate them. He was obliged, therefore, to take refuge in the temple of Hercules. But the magiſtrates, upon mature deliberation, reſolved to fix one end of a gold chain to the ſtatue of Apollo, and the other to the altar of Hercules. DIODOR. SIC. lib. xvii.

Tyrians, as if the god had been a deſerter taken in the fact, loaded his ſtatue with chains, and nailed the feet to the pedeſtal; not ſcrupling to call him an *Alexandriſt*. In another dream Alexander thought he ſaw a ſatyr playing before him at ſome diſtance; and when he advanced to take him, the ſavage eluded his graſp. However, at laſt, after much coaxing and taking and many circuits round him, he prevailed with him to ſurrender himſelf. The interpreters, plauſibly enough divided the Greek term for *ſatyr* into two, *Sa Tyros*, which ſignifies *Tyre is thine*. They ſtill ſhew us a fountain, near which Alexander is ſaid to have ſeen that viſion.

About the middle of the ſiege, he made an excurſion againſt the Arabians who dwelt about Antilibanus. There he ran a great riſk of his life on account of his preceptor Lyſimachus, who inſiſted on attending him; being, as he alleged, neither older nor leſs valiant than Phœnix. But when they came to the hills, and quitted their horſes. to march up on foot, the reſt of the party go far before Alexander and Lyſimachus. Night came on, and, as the enemy was at no great diſtance, the king would not leave his preceptor borne down with fatigue and the weight of years. Therefore, while he was encouraging and helping him forward, he was inſenſibly ſeparated from his troops, and had a dark and very cold night to paſs in an expoſed and diſmal ſituation. In this perplexity, he obſerved at a diſtance a number of ſcattered fires which the enemy had lighted; and depending upon his ſwiftneſs and activity, as well as accuſtomed to extricate the Macedonians out of every difficulty, by taking a ſhare in the labour and danger, he ran to the next fire. After having killed two of the barbarians that ſat watching it, he ſeized a lighted brand, and haſtened with it to his party, who ſoon kindled a great fire. The ſight of this ſo intimidated the enemy, that many of them fled, and thoſe who ventured to attack him, were repulſed with conſiderable loſs. By theſe means he paſſed the night in ſafety, according to the account we have from Chares.

As for the ſiege, it was brought to a termination in this manner. Alexander had permitted his main body to repoſe themſelves, after the long and ſevere fatigues they had undergone, and ordered only ſome ſmall parties to keep the Tyrians in play. In the mean time, Ariſtander, his

his principal ſoothſayer, offered ſacrifices, and one day upon inſpecting the entrails of the victim, he boldly aſſerted among thoſe about him, that the city would certainly be taken that month. As it happened then to be the laſt day of the month, his aſſertion was received with ridicule and ſcorn. The king perceiving he was diſconcerted, and making it a point to bring the prophecies of his miniſters to completion, gave orders that the day ſhould not be called the thirtieth, but the twenty-eighth of the month. At the ſame time, he called out his forces by ſound of trumpet, and made a much more vigorous aſſault than he at firſt intended. The attack was violent, and thoſe who were left behind in the camp, quitted it to have a ſhare in it, and to ſupport their fellow-ſoldiers; inſomuch that the Tyrians were forced to give out, and the city was taken that very day.

From thence he marched into Syria, and laid ſiege to Gaza, the capital of that country. While he was employed there, a bird, as it flew by, let fall a clod of earth upon his ſhoulder, and then going to perch on the croſs cords with which they turned the engines, was entangled and taken. The event anſwered Ariſtander's interpretation of this ſign: Alexander was wounded in the ſhoulder, but he took the city. He ſent moſt of its ſpoils to Olympias and Cleopatra, and others of his friends. His tutor Leonidas was not forgotten; and the preſent he made him had ſomething particular in it. It conſiſted of five hundred talents weight of frankincenſe*, and a hundred of myrrh, and was ſent upon recollection of the hopes he had conceived when a boy. It ſeems Leonidas one day had obſerved Alexander at a ſacrifice throwing incenſe into the fire by handfuls; upon which he ſaid, "Alexander, when "you have conquered the country where ſpices grow, "you may be thus liberal of your incenſe; but, in the "mean time, uſe what you have more ſparingly." He therefore wrote thus: "I have ſent you frankincenſe and "myrrh in abundance, that you may be no longer a churl "to the gods."

A caſket

	lb.	oz.	dwt.	gr.
* The common Attic talent in Troy weight was	56	11	00	$17\frac{1}{7}$
This talent conſiſted of 60 *minæ*; but there was another Attic talent, by ſome ſaid to conſiſt of 80, by others of 100 *minæ*. The *mina* was —	00	11	7	$16\frac{2}{7}$
The talent of Alexandria was —	104	0	19	14

A casket being one day brought him, which appeared one of the most curious and valuable things among the treasures and the whole equipage of Darius, he asked his friends what they thought most worthy to be put in it? Different things were to be proposed, but he said, "The "Iliad most deserved such a case." This particular is mentioned by several writers of credit. And if what the Alexandrians say, upon the faith of Heraclides, be true, Homer was no bad auxiliary, or useless counsellor, in the course of the war. They tell us, that when Alexander had conquered Egypt, and determined to build there a great city, which was to be peopled with Greeks, and called after his own name, by the advice of his architects he had marked out a piece of ground, and was preparing to lay the foundation; but a wonderful dream made him fix upon another situation. He thought a person with grey hair, and a very venerable aspect, approached him, and repeated the following lines:

> High o'er a gulphy sea the Pharian isle
> Fronts the deep roar of disemboguing Nile. POPE.

Alexander, upon this, immediately left his bed, and went to Pharos, which at that time was an island lying a little above the *Canobic* mouth of the Nile, but now is joined to the continent by a causeway. He no sooner cast his eyes upon the place, than he perceived the commodiousness of the situation. It is a tongue of land, not unlike an *isthmus*, whose breadth is proportionable to its length. On one side it has a great lake, and on the other the sea, which there forms a capacious harbour *. This led him to

* Ὡς ουν ειδε τοπον ευφυΐα διαφεροντα (ταινια γαρ εστιν ισθμω πλατος εχουσα συμμετρον επιεικως διειργουσα λιμνην τε πολλην και θαλασσαν εν λιμενι μεγαλω τελευτωσαν).

† Dacier understands this whole passage (which, as he observes, is not
without its difficulties) as a description of the isle of Pharos. It cer-
tainly was the isle of Pharos that formed the harbour, which was a
double one, and he adduces the authorities of Cæsar and Virgil to prove
that point. But how did the isle of Pharos lie between, or divide the
sea and a great lake? Dacier takes λιμνην τε πολλην και θαλασσαν
to mean the same as λιμνωδη θαλασσαν. Alexandria, however, does
certainly stand between the lake Marea, or Mareotis, and the Canopic
branch of the Nile, which may well enough be called a sea. And the
word διειργουσα does undoubtedly signify *separating* or *dividing*.

Our

to declare, that "Homer, among his other admirable qua-"lifications, was an excellent architect," and he ordered a city to be planned ſuitable to the ground, and its appendent conveniencies. For want of chalk, they made uſe of flour, which anſwered well enough upon a black ſoil, and they drew a line with it about the ſemicircular bay. The arms of this ſemicircle were terminated by ſtrait lines, ſo that the whole was in the form of a Macedonian cloak.

While the king was enjoying the deſign, on a ſudden an infinite number of large birds of various kinds, roſe, like a black cloud, out of the river and the lake, and lighting upon the place, eat up all the flour that was uſed in marking out the lines. Alexander was diſturbed at the omen; but the diviners encouraged him to proceed, by aſſuring him, it was a ſign that the city he was going to build would be bleſt with ſuch plenty, as to furniſh a ſupply to all that ſhould repair to it from other nations.

The execution of the plan he left to his architects, and went to viſit the temple of Jupiter Ammon. It was a long and laborious journey *; and beſide the fatigue, there was two great dangers attending it. The one was, that their water might fail, in a deſert of many days journey which afforded no ſupply; and the other, that they might be ſurpriſed by a violent ſouth wind amidſt the waſtes of ſand,

Our verſion of this paſſage is, moreover, confirmed by the account which Diodorus the Sicilian gives of the ſituation of Alexandria. That hiſtorian ſays, it was ſeated very commodiouſly by the haven of Pharos; the ſtreets were ſo contrived as to admit the cooling breezes, which refreſhed the air. Alexander ordered a broad and high wall to be drawn around it, ſo as to have the ſea cloſe on one ſide, and a great lake on the other. Its form reſembled that of a ſoldier's cloak. One large beautiful ſtreet paſſed from gate to gate, being in breadth a hundred feet, in length forty furlongs, or five miles. It became in after ages ſo rich and famous, that there were on its rolls three hundred thouſand freemen. Diod. Sic. l. xvii.

* As to his motives in this journey, hiſtorians diſagree. Arrian (l. iii. c. 3.) tells us, he took it in imitation of Perſeus and Hercules, the former of which had conſulted that oracle, when he was deſpatched againſt the Gorgons; and the latter twice, viz. when he went into Lybia againſt Antæus, and when he marched into Egypt againſt Buſiris. Now, as Perſeus and Hercules gave themſelves out to be the ſons of the Grecian Jupiter, ſo Alexander had a mind to take Jupiter Ammon for his father. Maximus Tyrius (*Serm.* xxv.) informs us, that he went to diſcover the fountains of the Nile; and Juſtin. (l. xi. c. 11.) ſays, the intention of this viſit was to clear up his mother's character, and to get himſelf the reputation of a divine origin.

ſand, as it happened long before to the army of Cambyſes. The wind raiſed the ſand, and rolled it in ſuch waves, that it devoured full fifty thouſand men. Theſe difficulties were conſidered and repreſented to Alexander: but it was not eaſy to divert him from any of his purpoſes. Fortune had ſupported him in ſuch a manner, that his reſolutions were become invincibly ſtrong; and his courage inſpired him with ſuch a ſpirit of adventure, that he thought it not enough to be victorious in the field, but he muſt conquer both time and place.

The divine aſſiſtances which Alexander experienced in this march, met with more credit than the oracles delivered at the end of it; though thoſe extraordinary aſſiſtances, in ſome meaſure, confirmed the oracles. In the firſt place, Jupiter ſent ſuch a copious and conſtant rain, as not only delivered them from all fear of ſuffering by thirſt, but, by moiſtening the ſand, and making it firm to the foot, made the air clear, and fit for reſpiration. In the next place, when they found the marks which were to ſerve for guides to travellers removed or defaced, and in conſequence wandered up and down without any certain route, a flock of crows made their appearance, and directed them in the way. When they marched briſkly on, the crows flew with equal alacrity; when they lagged behind, or halted, the crows alſo ſtopped. What is ſtill ſtranger, Calliſthenes avers, that at night, when they happened to be gone wrong, theſe birds called them by their croaking, and put them right again.

When he had paſſed the deſert, and was arrived at the place, the miniſter of Ammon received him with ſalutations from the god, as from a father. And when he inquired, "Whether any of the aſſaſſins of his father had "eſcaped him?" the prieſt deſired he would not expreſs himſelf in that manner, "for his father was not a mortal." Then he aſked, "Whether all the murderers of Philip "were puniſhed; and whether it was given the propo-"nent to be the conqueror of the world?" Jupiter anſwered, "That he granted him that high diſtinction; and "that the death of Philip was ſufficiently avenged." Upon this, Alexander made his acknowledgments to the god by rich offerings, and loaded the prieſts with preſents of great value. This is the account moſt hiſtorians give us of the affair of the oracle; but Alexander himſelf, in the

the letter he wrote to his mother on that occasion, only says, "He received certain private answers from the oracle, which he would communicate to her, and her only, at his return."

Some say, Ammon's prophet being desirous to address him in an obliging manner in Greek, intended to say, *O Paidion*, which signifies, *My Son;* but in his barbarous pronunciation, made the word end with an *s*, instead of an *n*, and so said, *O pai dios*, which signifies, *O Son of Jupiter*. Alexander (they add) was delighted with the mistake in the pronunciation, and from that mistake was propagated a report, that Jupiter himself had called him his son.

He went to hear Psammo an Egyptian philosopher, and the saying of his that pleased him most, was, "That all men are governed by God, for in every thing that which rules and governs is divine." But Alexander's own maxim was more agreeable to sound philosophy: He said, "God is the common father of men, but more particularly of the good and virtuous."

When among the barbarians, indeed, he affected a lofty port, such as might suit a man perfectly convinced of his divine original; but it was in a small degree, and with great caution, that he assumed any thing of divinity among the Greeks. We must except, however, what he wrote to the Athenians concerning Samos. "It was not I who gave you that free and famous city, but your then Lord, who was called my father," meaning Philip *.

Yet long after this, when he was wounded with an arrow, and experienced great torture from it, he said, "My friends, this is blood, and not the ichor

"Which blest immortals shed."

One day it happened to thunder in such a dreadful manner, that it astonished all that heard it; upon which, Anaxarchus the sophist, being in company with him, said, "Son of Jupiter, could you do so?" Alexander answered, with a smile, "I do not choose to be so terrible to my friends as you would have me, who despise my entertainments, because you see fish served up, and not the heads of Persian grandees." It seems the king had made Hephæstion

* He knew the Athenians were sunk into such meanness, that they would readily admit his pretensions to divinity. So afterwards they deified Demetrius.

Hephæstion a present of some small fish, and Anaxarchus observing it, said, "Why did he not rather send you the "heads of princes*;" intimating, how truly despicable those glittering things are which conquerors pursue with so much danger and fatigue; since, after all, their enjoyments are little or nothing superior to those of other men. It appears, then, from what has been said, that Alexander neither believed, nor was elated with, the notion of his divinity, but that he only made use of it as a means to bring others into subjection.

At his return from Egypt to Phœnicia, he honoured the gods with sacrifices and solemn processions; on which occasion the people were entertained with music and dancing, and tragedies were presented in the greatest perfection, not only in respect of the magnificence of the scenery, but the spirit of emulation in those who exhibited them. In Athens persons are chosen by lot out of the tribes to conduct those exhibitions; but in this case the princes of Cyprus vied with each other with incredible ardour; particularly Nicocreon king of Salamis, and Pasicrates king of Soli. They chose the most celebrated actors that could be found; Pasicrates risked the victory upon Athenodorus, and Nicocreon upon Thessalus. Alexander interested himself particularly in behalf of the latter; but did not discover his attachment, till Athenodorus was declared victor by all the suffrages. Then, as he left the theatre, he said, "I commend the judges for what they have "done; but I would have given half my kingdom rather "than have seen Thessalus conquered."

However, when Athenodorus was fined by the Athenians for not making his appearance on their stage at the feasts of Bacchus, and intreated Alexander to write to them in his favour; though he refused to comply with that request, he paid his fine for him. Another actor, named

* Diogenes imputes this saying of Anaxarchus to the aversion he had for Nicocreon, tyrant of Salamis. According to him, Alexander having one day invited Anaxarchus to dinner, asked him how he liked his entertainment? "It is excellent," replied the guest, "it wants but "one dish, and that a delicious one, the head of a tyrant," Not the heads of the *Satrapæ*, or governors of provinces, as it is in Plutarch. If the philosopher really meant the head of Nicocreon, he paid dear for his saying afterwards; for after the death of Alexander, he was forced, by contrary winds, upon the coast of Cyprus, where the tyrant seized him, and put him to death.

named Lycon, a native of Scarphia, performing with great applause before Alexander, dextrously inserted in one of the speeches of the comedy, a verse in which he asked him for ten talents. Alexander laughed, and gave him them.

It was about this time that he received a letter from Darius, in which that prince proposed, on condition of a pacification and future friendship, to pay him ten thousand talents in ransom of the prisoners, to cede to him all the countries on this side the Euphrates, and to give him his daughter in marriage. Upon his communicating these proposals to his friends, Parmenio said, "If I were Alexander, I would accept them." So would I," said Alexander *, "if I were Parmenio." The answer he gave Darius was, "That if he would come to him, he should find the best of treatment; if not, he must go and seek him."

In consequence of this declaration he began his march; but he repented that he had set out so soon, when he received information that the wife of Darius was dead. That princess died in child-bed; and the concerns of Alexander was great, because he lost an opportunity of exercising his clemency. All he could do was to return, and bury her with the utmost magnificence. One of the eunuchs of the bed-chamber, named Tireus, who was taken prisoner along with the princesses, at this time made his escape out of the camp, and rode off to Darius, with news of the queen's death.

Darius smote upon his head, and shed a torrent of tears. After which he cried out, "Ah cruel destiny of the Persians! Was the wife and sister of their king, not only to be taken captive, but after her death to be deprived of the obsequies due to her high rank!" The eunuch answered, "As to her obsequies, O King, and all the honours the queen had a right to claim, there is no reason to blame the evil genius of the Persians. For neither my mistress, Statira, during her life, or your royal mother, or children, missed any of the advantages of their former fortune, except the beholding the light of your countenance, which the great Oromasdes

* Longinus takes notice of this as an instance, that it is natural for men of genius, even in their common discourse, to let fall something great and sublime.

" masdes *. will again cause to shine with as much lustre " as before. So far from being deprived of any of the " solemnities of a funeral, the queen was honoured with " the tears of her very enemies. For Alexander is as " mild in the use of his victories, as he is terrible in " battle."

On hearing this, Darius was greatly moved, and strange suspicions took possession of his soul. He took the eunuch into the most private apartment of his pavilion, and said, " If thou dost not revolt to the Macedonians, as the for- " tune of Persia has done, but still acknowledgest in me " thy lord; tell me, as thou honourest the light of Mirtha " and the right-hand of the king, is not the death of Sta- " tira the least of her misfortunes I have to lament? Did " not she suffer more dreadful things while she lived? " And, amidst all our calamities, would not our disgrace " have been less, had we met with a more rigorous and " savage enemy? For what engagement in the compass " of virtue could bring a young man to do such honour to " the wife of his enemy?"

While the king was yet speaking, Tireus humbled his face to the earth, and intreated him not to make use of expressions so unworthy of himself, so injurious to Alexander, and so dishonourable to the memory of his deceased wife and sister; nor to deprive himself of the greatest of consolations in his misfortune, the reflecting that he was not defeated but by a person superior to human nature. He assured him, Alexander was more to be admired for the decency of his behaviour to the Persian women, than for the valour he exerted against the men. At the same time, he confirmed all he had said with the most awful oaths, and expatiated still more on the regularity of Alexander's conduct, and on his dignity of mind.

Then Darius returned to his friends; and lifting up his hands to heaven, he said, " Ye gods, who are the " guardians of our birth, and the protectors of kingdoms, " grant that I may re-establish the fortunes of Persia, and " leave them in the glory I found them; that victory may " put it in my power to return Alexander the favours, " which

* *Oromasdes* was worshipped by the Persians as the Author of all Good; and *Arimanius* deemed the Author of Evil; agreeably to the principles from which they were believed to spring, Light and Darkness. The Persian writers call them *Yerdan* and *Abriman*.

"which my dearest pledges experienced from him in my "fall! But if the time determined by fate and the divine "wrath, or brought about by the vicissitude of things, is "now come, and the glory of the Persians must fall, may "none but Alexander sit on the throne of Cyrus!" In this manner were things conducted, and such were the speeches uttered on this occasion, according to the tenor of history.

Alexander having subdued all on this side the Euphrates, began his march against Darius, who had taken the field with a million of men. During this march, one of his friends mentioned to him, as a matter that might divert him, that the servants of the army had divided themselves into two bands, and that each had chosen a chief, one of which they called Alexander, and the other Darius. They began to skirmish with clods, and afterwards fought with their fists; and at last, heated with a desire of victory, many of them came to stones and sticks, insomuch that they could hardly be parted. The king, upon this report, ordered the two chiefs to fight in single combat, and armed Alexander with his own hands, while Philotas did the same for Darius. The whole army stood and looked on, considering the event of this combat as a presage of the issue of the war. The two champions fought with great fury; but he who bore the name of Alexander proved victorious. He was rewarded with a present of twelve villages, and allowed to wear a Persian robe, as Eratosthenes tells the story.

The great battle with Darius was not fought at Arbela *, as most historians will have it; but at Gaugamela, which, in the Persian tongue, is said to signify *the house of the camel* †; so called, because one of the ancient kings, having escaped his enemies by the swiftness of his camel, placed her there, and appointed the revenue of certain villages for her maintenance.

In the month of *September* there happened an eclipse of the moon ‡, about the beginning of the festival of the great

* But as Gaugamela was only a village, and Arbela a considerable town, stood near it, the Macedonians chose to distinguish the battle by the name of the latter.

† Darius, the son of Hystaspes, crossed the deserts of Scythia, upon that camel.

‡ Astronomers assure us, this eclipse of the moon happened the 20th of September, according to the Julian calendar; and therefore the battle of Arbela was fought the 1st of October.

great myſteries at Athens. The eleventh night after that eclipſe, the two armies being in view of each other, Darius kept his men under arms, and took a general review of his troops by torch-light. Meantime Alexander ſuffered his Macedonians to repoſe themſelves, and with his ſoothſayer Ariſtander, performed ſome private ceremonies before his tent, and offered ſacrifices to FEAR *. The oldeſt of his friends, and Parmenio in particular, when they beheld the plain between Niphates and the Gordæan Mountains, all illumined with the torches of the barbarians, and heard the tumultuary and appalling noiſe from their camp, like the bellowings of an immenſe ſea, were aſtoniſhed at their numbers, and obſerved among themſelves how arduous an enterprize it would be to meet ſuch a torrent of war in open day. They waited upon the king, therefore when he had finiſhed the ſacrifice, and adviſed him to attack the enemy in the night, when darkneſs would hide what was moſt dreadful in the combat. Upon which he gave them that celebrated anſwer, *I will not ſteal a victory*.

It is true, this anſwer has been thought by ſome to favour of the vanity of a young man, who derided the moſt obvious danger: Yet others have thought it not only well calculated to encourage his troops at that time, but politic enough in reſpect to the future; becauſe, if Darius happened to be beaten, it left him no handle to proceed to another trial, under pretence that night and darkneſs had been his adverſaries, as he had before laid the blame upon the mountains, the narrow paſſes, and the ſea. For in ſuch a vaſt empire, it could never be the want of arms or men that would bring Darius to give up the diſpute; but the ruin of his hopes and ſpirits, in conſequence of the loſs of a battle, where he had the advantage of numbers and of day-light.

When his friends were gone, Alexander retired to reſt in his tent, and he is ſaid to have ſlept that night much ſounder than uſual; inſomuch, that when his officers came to

* In the printed text it is Φοιϐῳ, *to Apollo*, but Amiot tells us, he found in ſeveral MSS. Φοϐῳ, *to* FEAR. FEAR was not without her altars; Theſeus ſacrificed to her, as we have ſeen in his life: And Plutarch tells us. in the life of Agis and Cleomenes that the Lacedæmonians built a temple to FEAR, whom they honoured, not as a pernicious dæmon, but as the bond of all good government.

to attend him the next day, they could not but expreſs their ſurpriſe at it, while they were obliged themſelves to give out orders to the troops to take their morning refreſhment *. After this, as the occaſion was urgent, Parmenio entered his apartment, and ſtanding by the bed, called him two or three times by name. When he awaked, that officer aſked him, "Why he ſlept like a man that had "already conquered, and not rather like one who had "the greateſt battle the world ever heard of to fight?" Alexander ſmiled at the queſtion, and ſaid, "In what light "can you look upon us but as conquerors, when we have "not now to traverſe deſolate countries in purſuit of "Darius, and he no longer declines the combat?" It was not, however, only before the battle, but in the face of danger, that Alexander ſhewed his intrepidity and excellent judgment. For the battle was ſome time doubtful. The left wing, commanded by Parmenio, was almoſt broken by the impetuoſity with which the Bactrian cavalry charged; and Mazæus had, moreover, detached a party of horſe, with orders to wheel round and attack the corps that was left to guard the Macedonian baggage. Parmenio, greatly diſturbed at theſe circumſtances, ſent meſſengers to acquaint Alexender, that his camp and baggage would be taken if he did not immediately deſpatch a ſtrong reinforcement from the front to the rear: The moment that account was brought him, he was giving his right wing, which he commanded in perſon, the ſignal to charge. He ſtopped, however, to tell the meſſenger, "Parmenio muſt have loſt his ſenſes, and in his diſorder "muſt have forgot, that the conquerors are always "maſters of all that belonged to the enemy; and the con"quered need not give themſelves any concern about their "treaſures or priſoners, nor have any thing to think of "but how to ſell their lives dear, and die in the bed of "honour."

As ſoon as he had returned Parmenio this anſwer, he put on his helmet; for in other points he came ready armed out of his tent. He had a ſhort coat of the Sicilian faſhion, girt cloſe about him, and over that a breaſt-plate of linen ſtrongly quilted, which was found among the ſpoils, at the battle of Iſſus. His helmet, the workmanſhip

* Αριστοποιεισθαι.

ſhip of Theophilus, was of iron, but ſo well poliſhed, that it ſhone like the brighteſt ſilver. To this was fitted a gorget of the ſame metal, ſet with precious ſtones. His ſword, the weapon he generally uſed in battle, was a preſent from the king of the Citieans, and could not be excelled for lightneſs or for temper. But the belt which he wore in all engagements, was more ſuperb than the reſt of his armour. It was given him by the Rhodians, as a mark of their reſpect, and old Helicon had exerted all his art in it. In drawing up his army and giving orders, as well as exerciſing and reviewing it, he ſpared Bucephalus on account of his age, and rode another horſe; but he conſtantly charged upon him; and he had no ſooner mounted him, than the ſignal was always given.

The ſpeech he made to the Theſſalians and the other Greeks, was of ſome length on this occaſion. When he found that they, in their turn, ſtrove to add to his confidence, and called out to him to lead them againſt the barbarians, he ſhifted his javelin to his left hand; and ſtretching his right hand towards heaven, according to Calliſthenes, he intreated the gods "to defend and invigorate the Greeks, if he was really the ſon of Jupiter."

Ariſtander the ſoothſayer, who rode by his ſide, in a white robe, and with a crown of gold upon his head, then pointed out an eagle flying over him, and directing his courſe againſt the enemy. The ſight of this ſo animated the troops, that after mutual exhortations to bravery, the cavalry charged at full ſpeed, and the *phalanx* ruſhed on like a torrent *. Before the firſt ranks were well engaged, the

* Plutarch, as a writer of lives, not of hiſtories, does not pretend to give an exact deſcription of battles. But as many of our readers, we believe, will be glad to ſee ſome of the more remarkable in detail, we ſhall give Arrian's account of this.

Alexander's right wing charged firſt upon the Scythian horſe, who, as they were well armed, and very robuſt, behaved at the beginning very well, and made a vigorous reſiſtance. That this might anſwer more effectually, the chariots placed in the left wing bore down at the ſame time upon the Macedonians. Their appearance was very terrible, and threatened entire deſtruction; but Alexander's light-armed troops, by their darts, arrows, and ſtones, killed many of the drivers, and more of the horſes, ſo that few reached the Macedonian line; which opening, as Alexander had directed, they only paſſed through, and were then either taken, or diſabled by his bodies of reſerve. The horſe continued

the barbarians gave way, and Alexander preſſed hard upon the fugitives, in order to penetrate into the midſt of the hoſt, where Darius acted in perſon. For he beheld him at a diſtance, over the foremoſt ranks, amidſt his royal ſquadron. Beſides that he was mounted upon a lofty chariot, Darius was eaſily diſtinguiſhed by his ſize and beauty. A numerous body of ſelect cavalry ſtood in cloſe order about the chariot, and ſeemed well prepared to receive the enemy. But Alexander's approach appeared ſo terrible, as he drove the fugitives upon thoſe who ſtill maintained their ground, that they were ſeized with conſternation, and the greateſt part of them diſperſed. A few of the beſt and braveſt of them, indeed, met their death before the king's chariot, and falling in heaps one upon another, ſtrove to ſtop the purſuit; for in the very pangs of death they clung to the Macedonians, and caught hold of their horſes legs as they lay upon the ground.

Darius had now the moſt dreadful dangers before his eyes. His own forces, that were placed in the front to defend him, were driven back upon him; the wheels of his chariot were, moveover, entangled among the dead bodies,

tinued ſtill engaged; and, before any thing deciſive happened there, the Perſian foot, near their left wing, began to move, in hopes of falling upon the flank of the Macedonian right wing, or of penetrating ſo far as to divide it from its centre. Alexander, perceiving this, ſent Aratas with a corps to charge them, and prevent their intended manœuvre. In the mean time, proſecuting his firſt deſign, he broke their cavalry in the left wing, and entirely routed it. He then charged the Perſian foot in flank, and they made but a feeble reſiſtance. Darius, perceiving this, gave up all for loſt, and fled.

Vide ARRIAN, l. iii. c. 13, & ſeq. ubi plura.

Diodorus aſcribes the ſucceſs which for a time attended the Perſian troops, entirely to the conduct and valour of Darius. It unfortunately happened, that Alexander, attacking his guards, threw a dart at Darius, which, though it miſſed him, ſtruck the charioteer, who ſat at his feet, dead; and as he fell forwards, ſome of the guards raiſed a loud cry, whence thoſe behind them conjectured that the king was ſlain, and thereupon fled. This obliged Darius to follow their example, who knowing the route he took, could not be diſcovered on account of the duſt and confuſion, wheeled about, and got behind the Perſian army, and continued his flight that way, while Alexander purſued right forwards. DIOD. SIC. l. xvii.

Juſtin tells us, that when thoſe about Darius adviſed him to break down the bridge of the Cydnus, to retard the enemy's purſuit, he anſwered, " I will never purchaſe ſafety to myſelf at the expence of ſo " many thouſands of my ſubjects, as muſt by this means be loſt."

JUST. l. xi. c. 14.

bodies, so that it was almost impossible to turn it; and the horses plunging among heaps of the slain, bounded up and down, and no longer obeyed the hands of the charioteer. In this extremity he quitted the chariot and his arms, and fled, as they tell us, upon a mare which had newly foaled. But, in all probability, he had not escaped so, if Parmenio had not again sent some horsemen to desire Alexander to come to his assistance, because great part of the enemy's forces still stood their gronnd, and kept a good countenance. Upon the whole Parmenio is accused of want of spirit and activity in that battle: Whether it was that age had damped his courage; or whether, as Callisthenes tells us, he looked upon Alexander's power and the pompous behaviour he assumed, with an invidious eye, and considered it as an insupportable burden*. Alexander, tho' vexed at being so stopped in his career, did not acquaint the troops about him with the purport of the message; but under pretence of being weary of such a carnage, and of its growing dark sounded a retreat. However, as he was riding up to that part of his army which had been represented in danger, he was informed that the enemy were totally defeated and put to flight.

The battle having such an issue, the Persian empire appeared to be entirely destroyed, and Alexander was acknowledged king of all Asia. The first thing he did was to make his acknowledgments to the gods by magnificent sacrifices; and then to his friends, by rich gifts of houses, estates, and governments. As he was particularly ambitious of recommending himself to the Greeks, he signified by letter, that all tyrannies should be abolished, and that they should be governed by their own laws, under the auspices of freedom. To the Platæans in particular he wrote, that their city should be rebuilt, because their ancestors had made a present of their territory to the Greeks, in order that they might fight the cause of liberty upon their own lands. He sent also a part of the spoils to the Crotonians

* The truth seems to be, that Parmenio had too much concern for Alexander. Philip of Macedon confessed Parmenio to be the only general he knew: And on this occasion he probably considered, that if the wing under his command had been beaten, that corps of Persians would have been able to keep the field, and the fugitives rallying, and joining it there would have been a respectable force which might have regained the day.

Crotonians in Italy, in honour of the ſpirit and courage of their countryman Phaylus*, a champion of the wreſtling-ring, who in the war with the Medes, when the reſt of the Greeks in Italy ſent no aſſiſtance to the Greeks their brethren, fitted out a ſhip at his own expence, and repaired to Salamis, to take a ſhare in the common danger. Such a pleaſure did Alexander take in every inſtance of virtue, and ſo faithful a guardian was he of the honour of all great actions!

He traverſed all the province of Babylon†, which immediately made its ſubmiſſion; and in the diſtrict of Ecbatana he was parricularly ſtruck with a gulph of fire, which ſtreamed continually, as from an inexhauſtible ſource. He admired alſo a flood of *naptha*, not far from the gulph, which flowed in ſuch abundance that it formed a lake. The *naptha* in many reſpects reſembles the *bitumen*, but it is much more inflammable‡. Before any fire touches it, it catches light from a flame at ſome diſtance, and often kindles all the intermediate air. The barbarians, to ſhew the king its force and the ſubtilty of its nature, ſcattered ſome drops of it in the ſtreet which led to his lodgings; and ſtanding at one end, they applied their torches to ſome of the firſt drops; for it was night. The flame communicated itſelf ſwifter than thought, and the ſtreet was inſtantaneouſly all on fire.

There was one Athenophanes, an Athenian, who, among others, waited on Alexander when he bathed, and anointed him with oil. This man had the greateſt ſucceſs in his attempts to divert him; and one day a boy, named Stephen, happening to attend at the bath, who was homely in his perſon, but an excellent ſinger, Athenophanes ſaid to the king, "Shall we make an experiment of the *naptha* upon "Stephen? If it takes fire upon him, and does not pre-"ſently

* In Herodotus, *Phoyllus*. See l. viii. 47.

† In the original it is, *As he traverſed the territory of Babylon, he found in the diſtrict of Ecbatana*, &c. Every body knows that Ecbatana was in Media, not in the province of Babylon. The gulph here mentioned was near Arbela, in the diſtrict of *Artacene*. [See STRAB. ed. Par. p. 737. D. & ſeq.] But Scaliger propoſes, that we ſhould read *Arectane* (from *Acc*, mentioned, Gen. x. 10.) both here, inſtead of Ecbatana, and in the paſſage of Strabo, above cited.

‡ Sunt qui et naptham bituminis generi aſcribunt. Verum ardens ejus vis ignium naturæ cognata procul omni ab uſu eſt.

PLIN. Hiſt. Nat.

" ſently die out, we muſt allow its force to be extraordi-
" nary indeed." The boy readily conſented to undergo the trial; but as ſoon as he was anointed with it*, his whole body broke out into a flame, and Alexander was extremely concerned at his danger. Nothing could have prevented his being entirely conſumed by it, if there had not been people at hand with many veſſels of water for the ſervice of the bath. As it was, they found it difficult to extinguiſh the fire and the poor boy felt the bad effects of it as long as he lived.

Thoſe, therefore, who deſire to reconcile the fable with truth, are not unſupported by probability, when they ſay, it was this drug with which Medea anointed the crown and veil ſo well known upon the ſtage†. For the flame did not come from the crown or veil, nor did they take fire of themſelves; but upon the approach of fire they ſoon attracted it, and kindled imperceptibly. The emanations of fire at ſome diſtance have no other effect upon moſt bodies, than merely to give them light and heat; but in thoſe which are dry and porous, or ſaturated with oily particles, they collect themſelves into a point, and immediately prey upon the matter ſo well fitted to receive them. Still there remains a difficulty as to the generation of this *naptha;* whether it derives its inflammable quality from * * * * * * * * * * * ‡, or rather from the unctuous and ſulphureous nature of the ſoil. For in the province of Babylon the ground is of ſo fiery a quality, that the grains of barley often leap up and are thrown out, as if the violent heat gave a pulſation to the earth. And in the hot months the people are obliged to ſleep upon ſkins filled with water. Harpalus whom Alexander left governor of the country, was ambitious to adorn the royal palaces and walks with Grecian trees and plants; and he ſucceeded in every thing except ivy. After all his attempts to propagate that plant it died: For it loves a cold ſoil, and therefore could not bear the temper of that mold. Such digreſſions

* As no mention is made here of the application of fire, unleſs that be couched under the words *καὶ θιγεῖν*, we muſt ſuppoſe an electrical virtue in the *naptha*. But Plutarch ſeems to diſclaim that afterwards, in the caſe of Creon's daughter.

† Hoc delibutis ulta donis pellicem
Serpente fugit alite. HOR.

‡ Something here is wanting in the original.

ſions as theſe the niceſt readers may endure, provided they are not too long.

Alexander having made himſelf maſter of Suſa, found in the king's palace forty thouſand talents in coined money*, and the royal furniture and other riches were of inexpreſſible value. Among other things, there was purple of Hermione, worth five thouſand talents†, which, though it had been laid up a hundred and ninety years, retained its firſt freſhneſs and beauty. The reaſon they aſſign for this is, that the purple wool was combed with honey, and the white with white oil. And we are aſſured, that ſpecimens of the ſame kind and age are ſtill to be ſeen in all their priſtine luſtre Dinon informs us, that the kings of Perſia uſed to have water fetched from the Nile and the Danube, and put among their treaſures, as a proof of the extent of of their dominions, and their being maſters of the world.

The entrance into Perſia was difficult, on account of the roughneſs of the country in that part, and becauſe the paſſes were guarded by the braveſt of the Perſians; for Darius had taken refuge there. But a man who ſpoke both Greek and Perſian, having a Lycian to his father, and a Perſian woman to his mother, offered himſelf as a guide to Alexander, and ſhewed him how he might enter by taking a circuit. This was the perſon the prieſteſs of Apollo had in view, when, upon Alexander's conſulting her at a very early period of life, ſhe foretold, "That a "Lycian would conduct him into Perſia." Thoſe that firſt fell into his hands there, were ſlaughtered in vaſt numbers. He tells us, he ordered that no quarter ſhould be given, becauſe he thought ſuch an example would be of ſervice to his affairs. It is ſaid, he found as much gold and ſilver coin there as he did at Suſa, and that there was ſuch a quantity of other treaſures and rich moveables, that it loaded ten thouſand pair of mules and five thouſand camels‡.

At Perſepolis he caſt his eyes upon a great ſtatue of Xerxes, which had been thrown from its pedeſtal by the crowd

* Q. Curtius, who magnifies every thing, ſays fifty thouſand.

† Or five thouſand talents weight. Dacier calls it ſo many hundred weight; and the eaſtern talent was nearly that weight. Pliny tells us, that a pound of the double dipt Tyrian purple, in the time of Auguſtus, was ſold for an hundred crowns.

‡ Diodorus ſays three thouſand.

crowd that fuddenly rufhed in, and lay neglected on the ground. Upon this he ftopped, and addreffed it as if it had been alive—" Shall we leave you," faid he, " in this " condition, on account of the war you made upon Greece, " or rear you again, for the fake of your magnanimity and " other virtues?" After he had ftood a long time confidering in filence which he fhould do, he paffed by and left it as it was. To give his troops time to refrefh themfelves, he ftayed there four months, for it was winter.

The firft time he fat down on the throne of the kings of Perfia, under a golden canopy, Demaratus the Corinthian, who had the fame friendfhip and affection for Alexander as he had entertained for his father Philip, is faid to have wept like an old man, while he uttered this exclamation, " What a pleafure have thofe Greeks miffed, who died " without feeing Alexander feated on the throne of Da- " rius!"

When he was upon the point of marching againft Darius, he made a great entertainment for his friends, at which they drank to a degree of intoxication; and the women had their fhare in it, for they came in mafquerade to feek their lovers. The moft celebrated among thefe women was Thais, a native of Attica, and miftrefs to Ptolemy, afterwards king of Egypt. When fhe had gained Alexander's attention by her flattery and humorous vein, fhe addreffed him over her cups in a manner agreeable to the fpirit of her country, but far above a perfon of her ftamp. " I " have undergone great fatigues," faid fhe, " in wan- " dering about Afia; but this day has brought me a " compenfation, by putting it in my power to infult the " proud courts of the Perfian kings. Ah! how much " greater pleafure would it be to finifh the caroufal with " burning the palace of Xerxes, who laid Athens in afhes, " and to fet fire to it myfelf in the fight of Alexander*! " Then fhall it be faid in times to come, that the women " of

* Thefe domes were not reared folely for regal magnificence and fecurity; but to aid the appetites of power and luxury, and to fecrete the royal pleafures from thofe that toiled to gratify them. Thus, as this noble ftructre was poffibly raifed not only for vanity but for riot; fo, probably, by vanity inflamed by riot, it fell. A ftriking inftance of the infignificancy of human labours, and the depravity of human nature.

"of his ſtrain, have more ſignally avenged the cauſe of "Greece upon the Perſians, than all that the generals be-"fore him could do by ſea or land."

This ſpeech was received with the loudeſt plaudits and moſt tumultuary acclamations. All the company ſtrove to perſuade the king to comply with the propoſal. At laſt, yielding to their inſtances, he leaped from his ſeat, and, with his garland on his head, and a flambeau in his hand, led the way. The reſt followed with ſhouts of joy, and, dancing as they went, ſpread themſelves round the palace. The Macedonions who got intelligence of this frolic, ran up with lighted torches, and joined them with great pleaſure. For they concluded, from his deſtroying the royal palace, that the king's thoughts were turned towards home, and that he did not deſign to fix his ſeat among the barbarians. Such is the account moſt writers give us of the motives of this tranſaction. There are not, however, wanting thoſe who aſſert, that it was in conſequence of cool reflection. But all agree that the king ſoon repented, and ordered the fire to be extinguiſhed.

As he was naturally munificent, that inclination increaſed with his extraordinary acquiſitions; and he had alſo a gracious manner, which is the only thing that gives bounty an irreſiſtible charm. To give a few inſtances: Ariſton, who commanded the Pæonians, having killed one of the enemy, and cut off his head, laid it at Alexander's feet, and ſaid, "Among us, Sir, ſuch a preſent is re-"warded with a golden cup" The king anſwered, with a ſmile, "An empty one, I ſuppoſe; but I will give you "one full of good wine; and here, my boy, I drink to "you." One day, as a Macedonian of mean circumſtances was driving a mule, laden with the king's money, the mule tired; the man then took the burden upon his own ſhoulders, end carried it till he tottered under it, and was ready to give out. Alexander happening to ſee him, and being informed what it was, ſaid, "Hold on friend, "the reſt of the way, and carry it to to your own tent; for "it is yours." Indeed, he was generally more offended at thoſe who refuſed his preſents, than at thoſe who aſked favours of him. Hence he wrote to Phocion, "That he "could no longer number him among his friends, if he "rejected the marks of his regard." He had given nothing to Serapion, one of the youths that played with him at

at ball, becauſe he aſked nothing. One day, when they were at their diverſion, Serapion took care always to throw the ball to others of the party; upon which, Alexander ſaid, "Why do not you give it me?" "Becauſe you did "not aſk for it," ſaid the youth. The repartee pleaſed the king much; he laughed, and immediately made him very valuable preſents. One Proteas, a man of humour, and a jeſter by profeſſion, had happened to offend him. His friends interceded for him, and he ſued for pardon with tears; which at laſt the king granted. "If you do "really pardon me," reſumed the wag, "I hope you will "give me at leaſt ſome ſubſtantial proof of it." And he condeſcended to do it in a preſent of five talents.

With what a free hand he ſhowered his gifts upon his friends, and thoſe who attended on his perſon *, appears from one of the letters of Olympias. "You do well," ſaid ſhe, "in ſerving your friends, and it is right to act "nobly; but by making them all equal to kings, in pro- "portion as you put it in their power to make friends, "you deprive yourſelf of that privilege." Olympias often wrote to him in that manner; but he kept all her letters ſecret, except one, which Hephæſtion happened to caſt his eye upon, when he went, according to cuſtom, to read over the king's ſhoulder; he did not hinder him from reading on; only, when he had done, he took his ſignet from his finger and put it to his mouth †.

The ſon of Mazæus, who was the principal favourite of Darius, was already governor of a province, and the conqueror added to it another government ſtill more conſiderable. But the young man declined it in a handſome manner, and ſaid, "Sir, we had but one Darius, and now "you make many Alexanders." He beſtowed on Parmenio the houſe of Bagoas, in which were found ſuch goods as were taken at Suſa, to the value of a thouſand talents.

* He probably means in particular the fifty young men brought him by Amyntas, who were of the principal families in Macedonia. Their office was to wait on him at table, to attend with horſes when he went to fight or to hunt, and to keep guard day and night at his chamber door.

† To enjoin him ſilence.

‡ *Των περι σȣσων—ιματιςμων, drapery goods.* This we take to mean ſuch like purple as was taken at Suſa, or perhaps that very purple. Dacier reads *Hephæſtion*, inſtead of *Parmenio*. The Vulcob. M.S. has Σȣσα inſtead of Σȣσων, which is certainly better.

talents. He wrote to Antipater to acquaint him, that there was a deſign formed againſt his life, and ordered him to keep guards about him. As for his mother, he made her many magnificent preſents; but he would not ſuffer her buſy genius to exert itſelf in ſtate affairs, or in the leaſt to controul the proceedings of government. She complained of this as a hardſhip, and he bore her ill-humour with great mildneſs. Antipater once wrote him a long letter full of heavy complaints againſt her; and when he had read it, he ſaid, "Antipater knows not that one tear "of a mother can blot out a thouſand ſuch complaints."

He found that his great officers ſet no bounds to their luxury, that they were moſt extravagantly delicate in their diet, and profuſe in other reſpects; inſomuch that Agnon of Teos wore ſilver nails in his ſhoes; Leonatus had many camel loads of earth brought from Egypt to rub himſelf with when he went to the wreſtling-ring; Philotas had hunting-nets that would encloſe the ſpace of a hundred furlongs, more made uſe of rich eſſences than oil after bathing, and had their grooms of the bath, as well as chamberlains who excelled in bed-making. This degeneracy he reproved with all the temper of a philoſopher. He told them, "It was very ſtrange to him, that, after "having undergone ſo many glorious conflicts, they did "not remember that thoſe who come from labour and ex-"erciſe always ſleep more ſweetly than the inactive and "effeminate; and that in comparing the Perſian manners "with the Macedonian, they did not perceive that no-"thing was more ſervile than the love of pleaſure, or "more princely than a life of toil. How will that man," continued he, "take care of his own horſe, or furbiſh his "lance and helmet, whoſe hands are too delicate to wait "on his own dear perſon? Know you not that the end of "conqueſt is, not to do what the conquered have done, "but ſomething greatly ſuperior?" After this, he conſtantly took the exerciſe of war or hunting, and expoſed himſelf to danger and fatigue with leſs precaution than ever; ſo that a Lacedæmonian ambaſſador, who attended him one day when he killed a fierce lion, ſaid, "Alex-"ander, you have diſputed the prize of royalty glorioully "with the lion." Craterus got this hunting-piece repreſented in bronze, and conſecrated it in the temple at Delphi. There were the lion, the dogs, the king fighting

with the lion, and Craterus making up to the king's affiftance. Some of thefe ftatues were the workmanfhip of Lyfippus, and others of Leochares.

Thus Alexander hazarded his perfon, by way of exercife for himfelf, and example to others. But his friends, in the pride of wealth, were fo devoted to luxury and eafe, that they confidered long marches and campaigns as a burden, and by degrees came to murmur and fpeak ill of the king. At firft he bore their cenfures with great moderation, and ufed to fay, "There was fomething noble "in hearing himfelf ill fpoken off while he was doing "well*." Indeed, in the leaft of the good offices he did his friends, there were great marks of affection and refpect. We will give an inftance or two of it. He wrote to Peuceftas, who had been bit by a bear in hunting, to complain, that he had given an account of the accident, by letters, to others of his friends, and not to him. "But "now," fays he, "let me know, however, how you do, "and whether any of your company deferted you, that I "may punifh them if fuch there were." When Hephæftion happened to be abfent upon bufinefs, he acquainted him in one of his letters, that as they were diverting themfelves with hunting the ichneumon†, Craterus had the misfortune to be run through the thighs with Perdiccas's lance. When Peuceftas recovered of a dangerous illnefs, he wrote a letter with his own hand to Alexippus the phyfician, to thank him for his care. During the ficknefs of Craterus, the king had a dream, in confequence of which he offered facrifices for his recovery, and

* Voltaire fays fomewhere, that it is a noble thing to make ingrates. He feems to be indebted for the fentiment to Alexander.

† The Egyptian rat, called *ichneumon*, is of the fize of a cat, with very rough hair, fpotted with white, yellow, and afh-colour; its nofe like that of a hog, with which it digs up the earth. It has fhort black legs, and a tail like a fox. It lives on lizards, ferpents, fnails, chameleons, &c. and is of great fervice in Egypt, by its natural inftinct of hunting out and breaking the eggs of the crocodile, and thereby preventing too great an increafe of that deftructive creature. The naturalifts alfo fay, that it is fo greedy after the crocodile's liver, that rolling itfelf up in mud, it flips down his throat, while he fleeps with his mouth open, and gnaws its way out again.

Diod. Sic. p. 32, 78. Plin. l. viii. c. 24, 25.

The Egyptians worfhipped the ichneumon for deftroying the crocodiles. They worfhipped the crocodile, too, probably as the Indians do the devil, that it might do them no hurt.

and ordered him to do the ſame. Upon Pauſanias the phyſician's deſign to give Craterus a doſe of hellebore, he wrote to him, expreſſing his great anxiety about it, and deſiring him to be particularly cautious in the uſe of that medicine. He impriſoned Ephialtes and Ciſſus, who brought him the firſt news of the flight and treaſonable practices of Harpalus, ſuppoſing their information falſe. Upon his ſending home the invalids and the ſuperannuated, Euryalochus, the Agæan, got himſelf enrolled among the former. Soon after, it was diſcovered that he had no infirmity of body; and he confeſſed it was the love of Teleſippa, who was going to return home, that put him upon that expedient to follow her. Alexander inquired who the woman was, and being informed that though a courtezan, ſhe was not a ſlave, he ſaid, "Eurylochus, I "am willing to aſſiſt you in this affair; but as the wo-"man is free-born, you muſt ſee if we can prevail upon "her by preſents and courtſhip."

It is ſurpriſing, that he had time or inclination to write letters about ſuch unimportant affairs of his friends, as to give orders for diligent ſearch to be made in Cilicia for Seleucus's run-away ſlave; to commend Peuceſtas for having ſeized Nicon, a ſlave that belonged to Craterus; and to direct Megabyzus, if poſſible, to draw another ſlave from his aſylum, and take him, but not to touch him while he remained in the temple.

It is ſaid, that in the firſt years of his reign, when capital cauſes were brought before him, he uſed to ſtop one of his ears with his hand, while the plaintiff was opening the indictment, that he might reſerve it perfectly unprejudiced for hearing the defendant. But the many falſe informations which were afterwards lodged, and which, by meansof ſome true circumſtances, were ſo repreſented as to give an air of truth to the whole, broke his temper. Particularly in caſe of aſperſions upon his own character, his reaſon forſook him, and he became extremely and inflexibly ſevere; as preferring his reputation to life and empire.

When he marched againſt Darius again, he expected another battle. But upon intelligence that Beſſus had ſeized the perſon of that prince, he diſmiſſed the Theſſalians, and ſent them home, after he had given them a gratuity of two thouſand talents, over and above their pay.

The

The purſuit was long and laborious, for he rode three thouſand three hundred furlongs in eleven days *. As they often ſuffered more for want of water than by fatigue, many of the cavalry were unable to hold out. While they were upon the march, ſome Macedonians had filled their bottles at a river, and were bringing the water upon mules. Theſe people ſeeing Alexander greatly diſtreſſed with thirſt, (for it was in the heat of the day) immediately filled a helmet with water, and preſented it to him. He aſked them to whom they were carrying it? and they ſaid, "Their ſons: but if our prince does but live, we "ſhall get other children, if we loſe them." Upon this, he took the helmet in his hands; but looking round, and ſeeing all the horſemen bending their heads, and fixing their eyes upon the water, he returned it without drinking. However, he praiſed the people that offered it, and ſaid, "If I alone drink, theſe good men will be diſpi-"rited †." The cavalry, who were witneſſes to this act of temperance and magnanimity, cried out, "Let us "march! We are neither weary nor thirſty, nor ſhall we "even think ourſelves mortal, while under the conduct "of ſuch a king." At the ſame time they put ſpurs to their horſes.

They had all the ſame affection to the cauſe, but only ſixty were able to keep up with him till he reached the enemy's camp. There they rode over the gold and ſilver that lay ſcattered about, and paſſing by a number of carriages full of women and children, which were in motion, but without charioteers, they haſtened to the leading ſquadrons, not doubting that they ſhould find Darius among them. At laſt, after much ſearch, they found him extended on his chariot, and pierced with many darts. Though he was near his laſt moments, he had ſtrength to aſk for ſomething to quench his thirſt. A Macedonian, named Polyſtratus, brought him ſome cold water, and when he had drank, he ſaid, "Friend, this fills up the "meaſure of my misfortunes, to think I am not able to "reward

* As this was no more than forty miles a-day, our Newmarket heroes would have beat Alexander hollow. It is nothing when compared to Charles the Twelfth's march from Bender through Germany, nothing to the expedition of Hannibal along the African coaſt.

† Lucan has embelliſhed this ſtory for Cato, and has poſſibly introduced it merely upon imitation.

"reward thee for this act of kindness. But Alexander "will not let thee go without a recompence; and the "gods will reward Alexander for his humanity to my "mother, to my wife, and children. Tell him I gave "him my hand, for I give it thee in his stead." So saying, he took the hand of Polystratus, and immediately expired. When Alexander came up, he shewed his concern for that event by the strongest expressions, and covered the body with his own robe.

Bessus afterwards fell into his hands, and he punished his parricide in this manner. He caused two straight trees to be bent, and one of his legs to be made fast to each; then suffering the trees to return to their former posture, his body was torn asunder by the violence of the recoil *.

As for the body of Darius, he ordered it should have all the honours of a royal funeral, and sent it embalmed to his mother. Oxathres, that prince's brother, he admitted into the number of his friends.

His next movement was into Hyrcania, which he entered with the flower of his army. There he took a view of the Caspian sea, which appeared to him not less than the Euxine, but its water was of a sweeter taste. He could get no certain information in what manner it was formed, but he conjectured that it came from an outlet of the Palus Mæotis. Yet the ancient Naturalists were not ignorant of its origin; for, many years before Alexander's expedition, they wrote, that there are four seas which stretch from the main ocean into the continent, the farthest north of which is the Hyrcanian or the Caspian †. The barbarians here fell suddenly upon a party who were leading his horse Bucephalus, and took him. This provoked him so much, that he sent a herald to threaten them, their wives, and children, with utter extermination, if they did not restor him the horse. But, upon their bringing him back, and surrendering to him their cities, he treated them with grea clemency, and paid a considerable sum, by way of ransom, to those that took the horse.

From

* Q. Curtius tells us, Alexander delivered up the assassin to Oxathres, the brother of Darius; in consequence of which he had his nose and ears cut off, and was fastened to a cross, where he was despatched with darts and arrows.

† This is an error which Pliny too has followed. The Caspian sea has no communication with the ocean.

From thence he marched into Parthia; where finding no employment for his arms, he first put on the robe of the barbarian kings: whether it was that he conformed a little to their customs, because he knew how much a similarity of manners tends to reconcile and gain mens hearts; or whether it was by way of experiment, to see if the Macedonians might be brought to pay him the greater deference, by accustoming them insensibly to the new barbaric attire and port which he assumed. However, he thought the Median habit made too stiff and exotic an appearance, and therefore took not the long breeches, or the sweeping train, or the *tiara;* but adopting something between the Median and Persian mode, contrived vestments less pompous than the former, and more majestic than the latter. At first he used this dress only before the barbarians, or his particular friends within doors; but in time he came to wear it when he appeared in public, and sat for the despatch of business. This was a mortifying sight to the Macedoniahs; yet, as they admired his other virtues, they thought he might be suffered to please himself a little, and enjoy his vanity. Some indulgence seemed due to a prince, who, beside his other hardships, had lately been wounded in the leg with an arrow, which shattered the bone in such a manner, that splinters were taken out; who, another time, had such a violent blow from a stone upon the nape of his neck, that an alarming darkness covered his eyes, and continued for some time; and yet continued to expose his person without the least precaution. On the contrary, when he had passed the Orexartes, which he supposed to be the Tanais, he not only attacked the Scythians and routed them, but pursued them a hundred furlongs, and spite of what he suffered at that time from a flux.

There the queen of the Amazons came to visit him, as Clitarchus, Policritus, Onesicritus, Antigenes, Ister, and many other historians, report. But Aristobulus, Chares of Theangela *, Ptolemy, Anticlides, Philo the Theban, Philip who was also of Theangela, as well as Hecatæus of

* In the Greek text it is εισαγγελευς, both here and just after Εισαγγελευς signifies a gentleman usher; but it does not appear that either Chares or Philip ever held such an office. It is certain Θεαγγελευς is the right reading, from Athenæus, Book vi. p. 271; where he mentions Philip as belonging to Theangela in Caria.

of Eretria, Philip of Chalcis, and Duris of Samos, treat the ſtory as a fiction. And indeed Alexander himſelf ſeems to ſupport their opinion. For in one of his letters to Antipater, to whom he gave an exact detail of all that paſſed, he ſays, the king of Scythia offered him his daughter in marriage, but he makes not the leaſt mention of the Amazon. Nay, when Oneſicritus, many years after, read to Lyſimachus, then king, the fourth book of his hiſtory, in which this ſtory was introduced, he ſmiled and ſaid, "Where was I at that time?" But whether we give credit to this particular, or not, is a matter that will neither add to nor leſſen our opinion of Alexander.

As he was afraid that many of the Macedonians might diſlike the remaining fatigues of the expedition, he left the greateſt part of the army in quarters, and entered Hyrcania with a ſelect body of twenty thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe. The purport of his ſpeech upon the occaſion was this: "Hitherto the barbarians have "ſeen us only as in a dream. If you ſhould think of re-"turning, after having given Aſia the alarm only, they "will fall upon you with contempt as unenterpriſing and "effeminate. Nevertheleſs, ſuch as deſire to depart have "my conſent for it: But, at the ſame time, I call the "gods to witneſs, that they deſert their king when he is "conquering the world for the Macedonians, and leave "him to the kinder and more faithful attachment of thoſe "few friends that will follow his fortune." This is almoſt word for word the ſame with what he wrote to Antipater; and he adds, "That he had no ſooner done ſpeaking, "than they cried, he might lead them to what part of the "world he pleaſed." Thus he tried the diſpoſition of theſe brave men; and there was no difficulty in bringing the whole body into their ſentiments; they followed of courſe.

After this, he accommodated himſelf more than ever to the manners of the Aſiatics, and at the ſame time perſuaded them to adopt ſome of the Macedonian faſhions; for by a mixture of both, he thought an union might be promoted, much better than by force, and his authority maintained when he was at a diſtance. For the ſame reaſon he elected thirty thouſand boys, and gave them maſ-

ters to inſtruct them in the Grecian literature, as well as to train them to arms in the Macedonian manner.

As for his marriage with Roxana, it was entirely the effect of love. He ſaw her at an entertainment, and found her charms irreſiſtible. Nor was the match unſuitable to the ſituation of his affairs. The barbarians placed greater confidence in him on account of that alliance, and his chaſtity gained their affection; it delighted them to think, he would not approach the only woman he ever paſſionately loved, without the ſanction of marriage.

Hephæſtion and Craterus were his two favourites. The former praiſed the Perſian faſhions, and dreſſed as he did; the latter adhered to the cuſtoms of his own country. He therefore employed Hephæſtion in his tranſactions with the barbarians, and Craterus to ſignify his pleaſure to the Greeks and Macedonians. The one had more of his love, and the other more of his eſteem. He was perſuaded indeed, and he often ſaid, "Hephæſtion loved Alexander, "and Craterus the king." Hence aroſe private animoſities, which did not fail to break out upon occaſion. One day, in India, they drew their ſwords, and came to blows. The friends of each were joining in the quarrel, when Alexander interpoſed. He told Hephæſtion publicly, "He was a fool and a madman, not to be ſenſible, that "without his maſter's favour he would be nothing." He gave Craterus alſo a ſevere reprimand in private; and after having brought them together again, and reconciled them, he ſwore by Jupiter Ammon, and all the other gods, "That he loved them more than all the men in the world: "but, if he perceived them at variance again, he would "put them both to death, or him, at leaſt, who began "the quarrel." This is ſaid to have had ſuch an effect upon them, that they never expreſſed any diſlike to each other, even in jeſt, afterwards.

Among the Macedonians, Philotas, the ſon of Parmenio, had great authority. For he was not only valiant and indefatigable in the field, but after Alexander, no man loved his friend more, or had a greater ſpirit of generoſity. We are told, that a friend of his one day requeſted a ſum of money, and he ordered it to be given him. The ſteward ſaid, he had it not to give. "What," ſays Philotas, "haſt thou not plate, or ſome other move- "able?" However, he affected an oſtentation of wealth, and

and a magnificence in his drefs and table, that was above the condition of a fubject. Befides, the loftinefs of his port was altogether extravagant; not tempered with any natural graces, but formal and uncouth, it expofed him both to hatred and fufpicion; infomuch that Parmenio one day faid to him, "My fon, be lefs." He had long been reprefented in an invidious light to Alexander. When Damafcus, with all its riches, was taken, upon the defeat of Darius in Cilicia, among the number of captives that were brought to the camp, there was a beautiful young woman, called Antigone, a native of Pydna, who fell to the fhare of Philotas. Like a young foldier with a favourite miftrefs, in his cups he indulged his vanity, and let many indifcreet things efcape him; attributing all the great actions of the war to himfelf and to his father. As for Alexander, he called him a boy, who by their means enjoyed the title of a conqueror. The woman told thefe things in confidence to one of her acquaintance, and he (as is comman) mentioned them to another. At laft, they came to the ear of Craterus, who took the woman privately before Alexander. When the king had heard the whole from her own mouth, he ordered her to go as ufual to Philotas, but to make her report to him of all that he faid. Philotas, ignorant of the fnares that were laid for him, converfed with the woman without the leaft referve, and either in his refentment or pride uttered many unbecoming things againft Alexander. That prince, though he had fufficient proof againft Philotas, kept the matter private, and difcovered no tokens of averfion; whether it was that he confided in Parmenio's attachment to him, or whether he was afraid of the power and intereft of the family.

About this time, a Macedonian, named Limnus *, a native of Chalæftra, confpired againft Alexander's life, and communicated his defign to one Nicomachus, a youth that he was fond of; defiring him to take a part in the enterprize. Nicomachus, inftead of embracing the propofal, informed his brother Balinus † of the plot, who went immediately to Philotas, and defired him to introduce

* It fhould, undoubtedly, be read *Dymnus*, as Q. Curtius and Diodorus have it. Nothing is eafier than for a tranfcriber to change the Λ into a Δ.

† Q. Curtius calls him *Cebalinus*.

duce them to Alexander; aſſuring him it was upon buſineſs of great importance. Whatever might be his reaſon (for it is not known) Philotas refuſed them admittance, on pretence that Alexander had other great engagements then upon his hands. They applied again, and met with a denial. By this time they entertained ſome ſuſpicion of Philotas, and addreſſed themſelves to Metron *, who introduced them to the king immediately. They informed him firſt of the conſpiracy of Limnus, and then hinted to him their ſuſpicions of Philotas, on account of his rejecting two ſeveral applications.

Alexander was incenſed at this negligence; and when he found that the perſon who was ſent to arreſt Limnus, had killed him † becauſe he ſtood upon his defence and refuſed to be taken, it diſturbed him ſtill more, to think he had loſt the means of diſcovering his accomplices. His reſentment againſt Philotas, gave opportunity to thoſe who had long hated that officer, to avow their diſlike, and to declare, how much the king was to blame in ſuffering himſelf to be ſo eaſily impoſed upon, as to think that Limnus, an inſignificant Chalæſtrean, durſt engage, of his own accord, in ſuch a bold deſign. "No doubt," ſaid they, "he was the agent, or rather the inſtrument, of "ſome ſuperior hand; and the king ſhould trace out the "ſource of the conſpiracy among thoſe who have the "moſt intereſt in having it concealed."

As he began to liſten to theſe diſcourſes, and to give way to his ſuſpicions, it brought innumerable accuſations againſt Philotas, ſome of them very groundleſs. He was apprehended and put to the torture, in preſence of the great officers of the court. Alexander had placed himſelf behind the tapeſtry to hear the examination; and when he found that Philotas bemoaned himſelf in ſuch a lamentable manner, and had recourſe to ſuch mean ſupplications to Hephæſtion, he is reported to have ſaid, "O Philotas, "durſt thou, with all this unmanly weakneſs, embark in "ſo great and hazardous an enterprize."

After

* In the printed text it is ἕτερον; but one of the manuſcripts gives us Μετρωνα, which agrees with Curtius. Some name ſeems to be wanting, and Metron was a conſiderable office of the king's houſehold, maſter of the wardrobe.

† Other authors ſay, he killed himſelf.

After the execution of Philotas, he immediately ſent orders into Media that Parmenio ſhould be put to death; a man who had a ſhare in moſt of Philip's conqueſts, and who was the principal, if not the only one, of the old counſellors, who put Alexander upon his expedition into Aſia. Of three ſons whom he took over with him, he had ſeen two ſlain in battle, and with the third he fell a ſacrifice himſelf. Theſe proceedings made Alexander terrible to his friends, particularly to Antipater. That regent, therefore, ſent privately to the Ætolians, and entered into league with them. They had ſomething to fear from Alexander, as well as he, for they had ſacked the city of the Œniades; and when the king was informed of it, he ſaid, "The children of the Œniades need not revenge "their cauſe; I will puniſh the Ætolians myſelf."

Soon after this, happened the affair of Clitus; which, however ſimply related, is much more ſhocking than the execution of Philotas. Yet, if we reflect on the occaſion and circumſtances of the thing, we ſhall conclude it was a misfortune, rather than a deliberate act, and that Alexander's unhappy paſſion and intoxication only furniſhed the evil genius of Clitus with the means of accompliſhing his deſtruction. It happened in the following manner. The king had ſome Grecian fruit brought him from on board a veſſel, and as he greatly admired its freſhneſs and beauty, he deſired Clitus to ſee it, and partake of it. It happened that Clitus was offering ſacrifice that day; but he left it to wait upon the king. Three of the ſheep on which the libation was already poured, followed him. The king, informed of that accident, conſulted his ſoothſayers, Ariſtander, and Cleomantis the Spartan, upon it; and they aſſured him it was a very bad omen. He, therefore, ordered the victims to be immediately offered for the health of Clitus; the rather, becauſe three days before he had a ſtrange and alarming dream, in which Clitus appeared in mourning, ſitting by the dead ſons of Parmenio. However, before the ſacrifice was finiſhed, Clitus went to ſup with the king, who that day had been paying his homage to Caſtor and Pollux.

After they were warmed with drinking, ſomebody began to ſing the verſes of one Pranicus, or, as others will have it, of Pierio, written in ridicule of the Macedonian officers who had lately been beaten by the barbarians. The older

4 part

part of the company were greatly offended at it, and condemned both the poet and the singer; but Alexander, and those about him, listened with pleasure, and bade him go on. Clitus, who by this time had drank too much, and was naturally rough and froward, could not bear their behaviour. He said, "It was not well done, to make a "jest, and that among barbarians and enemies, of Mace-"donians that were much better men than the laughers, "though they had met with a misfortune." Alexander made answer, "That Clitus was pleading his own cause, "when he gave cowardice the soft name of misfortune." Then Clitus started up, and said, "Yet it was this cowar-"dice that saved you, son of Jupiter as you are, when you "were turning your back to the sword of Spithridates. It "is by the blood of the Macedonians and these wounds "that you are grown so great, that you disdain to ac-"knowledge Philip for your father, and will needs pass "yourself for the son of Jupiter Ammon."

Irritated at this insolence, Alexander replied, "It is in "this villainous manner thou talkest of me in all com-"panies, and stirrest up the Macedonians to mutiny; "but dost thou think to enjoy it long?" "And what do "we enjoy now?" said Clitus, "what reward have we "for all our toils? Do we not envy those who did not live "to see Macedonians bleed under Median rods, or sue to "Persians for access to their king?" While Clitus went on in this rash manner, and the king retorted upon him with equal bitterness, the old men interposed, and endeavoured to allay the flame. Meantime Alexander turned to Xenodochus the Cardian, and Artemius the Colophonian, and said, "Do not the Greeks appear to you among "the Macedonians like demi-gods among so many wild-"beasts?" Clitus, far from giving up the dispute, called upon Alexander "To speak out what he had to say, or not "to invite freemen to his table, who would declare their "sentiments without reserve. But perhaps, continued "he, it were better to pass your life with barbarians and "slaves, who will worship your Persian girdle and white "robe without scruple."

Alexander, no longer able to restrain his anger, threw an apple at his face, and then looked about for his sword. But Aristophanes *, one of his guards, had taken it away

* Q. Curtius and Arrian call him Aristonus.

in time, and the company gathered about him, and intreated him to be quiet. Their remonſtrances, however, were vain. He broke from them, and called out, in the Macedonian language, for his guards, which was the ſignal of a great tumult. At the ſame time he ordered the trumpeter to ſound, and ſtruck him with this fiſt, upon his diſcovering an unwillingneſs to obey. This man was afterwards held in great eſteem, becauſe he prevented the whole army from being alarmed.

As Clitus would not make the leaſt ſubmiſſion, his friends, with much ado, forced him out of the room. But he ſoon returned by another door, repeating, in a bold and diſreſpectful tone thoſe verſes from the Andromache of Euripides.

> Are theſe your cuſtoms? Is it thus that Greece
> Rewards her combatants? * Shall one man claim
> The trophies won by thouſands?

Then Alexander ſnatched a ſpear from one of the guards, and meeting Clitus as he was putting by the curtain, ran him through the body. He fell immediately to the ground, and with a diſmal groan expired.

Alexander's rage ſubſided in a moment; he came to himſelf; and ſeeing his friends ſtanding in ſilent aſtoniſhment by him, he haſtily drew the ſpear out of the dead body, and was applying it to his own throat, when his guards ſeized his hands, and carried him by force into his chamber. He paſſed that night and the next day in anguiſh inexpreſſible; and when he had waſted himſelf with tears and lamentations, he lay in ſpeechleſs grief, uttering only now and then a groan. His friends, alarmed at this melancholy ſilence, forced themſelves into the room, and attempted to conſole him. But he would liſten to none of them, except Ariſtander, who put him in mind of his dream and the ill omen of the ſheep, and aſſured him, that the whole was by the decree of fate. As he ſeemed a little comforted, Calliſthenes the philoſopher, Ariſtotle's near relation, and Anaxarchus the Abderite, were called in †. Calliſthenes began in a ſoft and tender manner, endeavouring

* This is the ſpeech of Peleus, to Menelaus.

† Calliſthenes was of the city of Olynthus, and had been recommended to Alexander by Ariſtotle, whoſe relation he was. He had too

deavouring to relieve him without ſearching the wound. But Anaxarchus, who had a particular walk in philoſophy, and looked upon his fellow labourers in ſcience with contempt, cried out, on entering the room, "Is this Alexander upon whom the whole world have their eyes? Can it be he who lies extended on the ground, crying like a ſlave, in fear of the law and the tongues of men, to whom he ſhould himſelf be a law, and the meaſure of right and wrong? What did he conquer for but to rule and to command, not ſervilely to ſubmit to the vain opinions of men: Know you not, continued he, that Jupiter is repreſented with Themis and Juſtice by his ſide, to ſhew, that whatever is done by * ſupreme power is right?" By this, and other diſcourſes of the ſame kind, he alleviated the king's grief indeed, but made him, withal, more haughty and unjuſt. At the ſame time, he inſinuated himſelf into his favour in ſo extraordinary a manner, that he could no longer bear the converſation of Calliſthenes, who before was not very agreeable, on account of his auſterity.

One day, a diſpute had ariſen at table about the ſeaſons and the temperature of the climate. Calliſthenes held with thoſe who aſſerted, that the country they were then in was much colder, and the winters more ſevere, than in Greece. Anaxarchus maintained the contrary with great obſtinacy. Upon which Calliſthenes ſaid, "You muſt needs acknowledge, my friend, that this is much the colder; for there you went in winter in one cloak, and here you cannot ſit at table without three houſing coverlets one over another." This ſtroke went to the heart of Anaxarchus.

Calliſthenes was diſagreeable to all the other ſophiſts and flatterers at court; the more ſo, becauſe he was followed by the young men on account of his eloquence, and no leſs acceptable to the old for his regular, grave, ſelf-ſatisfied courſe of life. All which confirms what was ſaid to be the cauſe of his going to Alexander, namely, an ambition

too much of the ſpirit of liberty, to be fit for a Court. He did not ſhew it, however, in this inſtance. Ariſtotle forewarned him, that if he went on to treat the King with the freedom which his ſpirit prompted, it would one day be fatal to him.

Ωκυμορος δη μοι, τεκος, εσσεαι οι αγορευεις,
"Short date of life, my ſon, theſe words forebode."

ambition to bring his fellow-citizens back, and to re-people the place of his nativity*. His great reputation naturally expoſed him to envy; and he gave ſome room for calumny himſelf, by often refuſing the king's invitations, and when he did go to his entertainments, by ſitting ſolemn and ſilent; which ſhewed that he could neither commend, nor was ſatisfied with what paſſed: Inſomuch that Alexander ſaid to him one day,

——————— I hate the Sage
Who reaps no fruits of wiſdom to himſelf.

Once when he was at the king's table with a large company, and the cup came to him, he was deſired to pronounce an eulogium upon the Macedonians extempore, which he did with ſo much eloquence, that the gueſts, beſide their plaudits, roſe up and covered him with their garlands. Upon this, Alexander ſaid, in the words of Euripides,

When great the theme, 'tis eaſy to excel.

"But ſhew us now," continued he, "the power of your "rhetoric, in ſpeaking againſt the Macedonians, that they "may ſee their faults, and amend."

Then the orator took the other ſide, and ſpoke with equal fluency againſt the encroachments and other faults of the Macedonians, as well as againſt the diviſions among the Greeks, which he ſhewed to be the only cauſe of the great increaſe of Philip's power; concluding with theſe words,

Amidſt Sedition's waves
The worſt of mortals may emerge to honour.

By this he drew upon himſelf the implacable hatred of the Macedonians, and Alexander ſaid, "He gave not, in this "caſe, a ſpecimen of his eloquence, but of his male-"volence."

Hermippus aſſures us, that Stroibus, a perſon employed by Calliſthenes to read to him, gave this account of the matter to Ariſtotle. He adds, that Calliſthenes perceiving

* Olynthus was one of the cities deſtroyed by Philip; whether Alexander permitted the philoſopher to re-eſtabliſh it is uncertain; but Cicero informs us, that, in his time, it was a flouriſhing place. *Vide* Or. iii. *in* Verrem.

ceiving the king's averſion to him, repeated this verſe two or three times at parting:

> Patroclus, thy ſuperior is no more.

It was not, therefore, without reaſon, that Ariſtotle ſaid of Calliſthenes, "His eloquence, indeed, is great, but "he wants common ſenſe." He not only refuſed, with all the firmneſs of a philoſopher, to pay his reſpects to Alexander by proſtration, but ſtood forth ſingly, and uttered in public many grievances which the beſt and oldeſt of the Macedonians durſt not reflect upon but in ſecret, though they were as much diſpleaſed at them as he. By preventing the proſtration, he ſaved the Greeks, indeed, from a great diſhonour, and Alexander from a greater; but he ruined himſelf; becauſe his manner was ſuch, that he ſeemed rather deſirous to compel than to perſuade.

Chares of Mitylene tells us, that Alexander, at one of his entertainments, after he had drank, reached the cup to one of his friends. That friend had no ſooner received it than he roſe up, and turning towards the hearth *, where ſtood the domeſtic gods, to drink, he worſhipped, and then kiſſed Alexander. This done, he took his place againſt the table. All the gueſts did the ſame in their order, except Calliſthenes. When it came to his turn, he drank, and then approached to give the king a kiſs, who being engaged in ſome diſcourſe with Hephæſtion, happened not to mind him. But Demetrius, ſurnamed Phidon, cried out, "Receive not his kiſs; for he alone has not "adored you." Upon which, Alexander refuſed it, and Calliſthenes ſaid aloud, "Then I return one kiſs the "poorer."

A coldneſs, of courſe, enſued: but many other things contributed to his fall. In the firſt place, Hephæſtion's report was believed, that Calliſthenes had promiſed him to adore the king, and broke his word. In the next place, Lyſimachus and Agnon attacked him, and ſaid, "The ſophiſt went about with as much pride as if he "had

* Dacier is of opinion, that, by this action, the flatterer wanted to inſinuate, that Alexander ought to be reckoned among the domeſtic gods. But, as the king ſate in that part of the room where the *Penates* were, we rather think it was a vile excuſe to the man's own conſcience for this act of religious worſhip, becauſe their poſition made it dubious, whether it was intended for Alexander or for them.

" had demolished a tyranny, and the young men followed " him, as the only freeman among so many thousands." These things, upon the discovery of Hermolaus's plot against Alexander, give an air of probability to what was alleged against Callisthenes. His enemies said, Hermolaus inquired of him, " By what means he might become " the most famous man in the world?" and that he answered, " By killing the most famous." They farther asserted, that by way of encouraging him to the attempt, he bade him " not be afraid of the golden bed, but re- " member he had to do with a man who had suffered both " by sickness and by wounds."

Neither Hermolaus, however, nor any of his accomplices, made any mention of Callisthenes amidst the extremities of torture. Nay, Alexander himself, in the account he immediately gave of the plot to Craterus, Attalus and Alcetas, writes, " That the young men, when " put to the torture, declared, it was entirely their own " enterprize, and that no man besides was privy to it." Yet afterwards, in a letter to Antipater, he affirms, that Callisthenes was as guilty as the rest. " The Macedonians," says he, " have stoned the young men to death. As for " the sophist, I will punish him myself, and those that sent " him, too: Nor shall the towns that harboured the " conspirators escape." In which he plainly discovers his aversion to Aristotle, by whom Callisthenes was brought up, as a relation; for he was the son of Hero, Aristotle's niece. His death is variously related. Some say, Alexander ordered him to be hanged; others, that he fell sick and died in chains. And Chares writes, that he was kept seven months in prison, in order to be tried in full council in the presence of Aristotle; but that he died of excessive corpulency and the lousy disease, at the time that Alexander was wounded by the Malli Oxydracæ in India. This happened, however, at a later period than that we are upon.

In the mean time, Demeratus the Corinthian, though far advanced in years, was ambitious of going to see Alexander. Accordingly he took the voyage, and when he beheld him, he said, " The Greeks fell short of a great " pleasure, who did not live to see Alexander upon the " throne of Darius." But he did not live to enjoy the king's

king's friendſhip. He ſickened and died ſoon after. The king, however, performed his obſequies in the moſt magnificent manner; and the army threw up for him a monument of earth of great extent, and fourſcore cubits high. His aſhes were carried to the ſea-ſhore in a chariot and four, with the richeſt ornaments.

When Alexander was upon the point of ſetting out for India, he ſaw his troops were ſo laden with ſpoils that they were unfit to march. Therefore, early in the morning that he was to take his departure, after the carriages were aſſembled, he firſt ſet fire to his own baggage and that of his friends; and then gave orders that the reſt ſhould be ſerved in the ſame manner. The reſolution appeared more difficult to take, than it was to execute. Few were diſpleaſed at it, and numbers received it with acclamations of joy. They freely gave part of their equipage to ſuch as were in need, and burnt and deſtroyed whatever was ſuperfluous. This greatly encouraged and fortified Alexander in his deſign. Beſides, by this time he was become inflexibly ſevere in puniſhing offences. Menander, though one of his friends, he put to death, for refuſing to ſtay in a fortreſs he had given him the charge of; and one of the barbarians, named Oſodates, he ſhot dead with an arrow, for the crime of rebellion.

About this time a ſheep yeaned a lamb with the perfect form and colour of a *tiara* upon its head, on each ſide of which were teſticles. Looking upon the prodigy with horror, he employed the Chaldæans, who attended him for ſuch purpoſes, to purify him by their expiations. He told his friends, on this occaſion, "That he was more "troubled on their account than his own; for he was "afraid that after his death fortune would throw the em-"pire into the hands of ſome obſcure and weak man." A better omen, however, ſoon diſſipated his fears. A Macedonian, named Proxenus, who had the charge of the king's equipage, on opening * the ground by the river Oxus, in order to pitch his maſter's tent, diſcovered a ſpring of a groſs oily liquor; which after the ſurface was taken off, came perfectly clear, and neither in taſte nor ſmell differed from real oil, nor was inferior to it in ſmoothneſs and brightneſs

* Strabo (lib. ii.) aſcribes the ſame properties to the ground near the river Ochus. Indeed, the Ochus and the Oxus unite their ſtreams, and ow together into the Caſpian ſea.

brightnefs, though there were no olives in that country. It is faid, indeed, that the water of the Oxus is of fo unctuous a quality, that it makes the fkins of thofe who bathe in it fmooth and fhining *.

It appears, from a letter of Alexander's to Antipater, that he was greatly delighted with this incident, and reckoned it one of the happieft prefages the gods had afforded him. The foothfayers faid, it betokened, that the expedition would prove a glorious one, but at the fame time laborious and difficult, becaufe heaven has given men oil to refrefh them after their labours. Accordingly he met with great dangers in the battles that he fought, and received very confiderable wounds. But his army fuffered moft by want of neceffaries and by the climate. For his part, he was ambitious to fhew that courage can triumph over fortune, and magnanimity over force: He thought nothing invincible to the brave, or impregnable to the bold †. Purfuant to this opinion, when he befieged Sifimethres ‡ upon a rock extremely fteep and apparently inacceffible, and faw his men greatly difcouraged at the enterprize, he afked Oxyartes, "Whether Sifimethres were "a man of fpirit?" And being anfwered, "That he was "timorous and daftardly," he faid, "You inform me the "rock may be taken, fince there is no ftrength in its de-"fender." In fact, he found means to intimidate Sifimethres, and made himfelf mafter of the fort.

In the fiege of another fort, fituated in a place equally fteep, among the young Macedonians that were to give the affault there was one called Alexander; and the king took occafion to fay to him, "You muft behave gallantly, "my friend, to do juftice to your name. He was informed

* Pliny tells us, that the furface of thefe rivers was a confiftence of falt, and that the waters flowed under it as under a cruft of ice. The falt confiftence he imputes to the defluxions from the neighbouring mountains, but he fays nothing of the unctuous quality of thefe waters mentioned by Plutarch. Nat. Hift. lib. xxxi.

† One of the manufcripts, inftead of ευτολμοις, has ατολμοις, Then the latter member of the fentence would be, *nor fecure to the timorous.*

‡ This ftrong hold was fituated in Bactriana. Strabo fays, it was fifteen furlongs high, as many in compafs, and that the top was a fertile plain, capable of maintaining five hundred. It was in Bactriana that Alexander married Roxana, the daughter of Oxyartes.

formed afterwards that the young man fell as he was distinguishing himself in a glorious manner, and he laid it much to heart.

When he sat down before Nysa *, the Macedonians made some difficulty of advancing to the attack, on account of the depth of the river that washed its walls, till Alexander said, "What a wretch am I, that I did not "learn to swim," and was going to ford it with his shield in his hand. After the first assault, while the troops were refreshing themselves, ambassadors came with an offer to capitulate; and along with them were deputies from some other places. They were surprised to see him in armour without any pomp or ceremony; and their astonishment increased, when he bade the oldest of the ambassadors, named Acuphis, take the sofa that was brought for himself. Acuphis, struck with a benignity of reception so far beyond his hopes, asked what they must do to be admitted into his friendship? Alexander answered, "It must be on "condition that they appoint you their governor, and "send me a hundred of their best men for hostages." Acuphis smiled at this, and said, "I should govern better "if you would take the worst, instead of the best."

It is said, the dominions of Taxiles, in India †, were as large as Egypt: They afforded excellent pasturage too, and were the most fertile in all respects. As he was a man of great prudence, he waited on Alexander, and after the first compliments, thus addressed him: "What occasion "is there for wars between you and me, if you are not "come to take from us our water and other necessaries of "life; the only things that reasonable men will take up "arms for? As to gold and silver and other possessions, "if I am richer than you, I am willing to oblige you with "part; if I am poorer, I have no objection to sharing "in your bounty." Charmed with his frankness, Alexander took his hand, and answered, "Think you, then, "with all this civility, to escape without a conflict? You "are much deceived, if you do. I will dispute it with "you to the last: but it shall be in favours and benefits; "for

* Arrian calls it Nyssa; so indeed does the Vulcob. MS. That historian places it near Mount Meris, and adds, that it was built by Dionysius, or Bacchus. Hence it had the name of Dionysiopolis. It is now called Nerg.

† Between the Indus and the Hydaspes.

"for I will not have you exceed me in generoſity." Therefore, after having received great preſents from him, and made greater, he ſaid to him one evening, "I drink "to you, Taxiles, and as ſure as you pledge me, you ſhall "have a thouſand talents." His friends were offended at his giving away ſuch immenſe ſums, but it made many of the barbarians look upon him with a kinder eye.

The moſt warlike of the Indians uſed to fight for pay. Upon this invaſion they defended the cities that hired them, with great vigour, and Alexander ſuffered by them not a little. To one of the cities he granted an honourable capitulation, and yet ſeized the mercenaries, as they were upon their march homewards, and put them all to the ſword. This is the only blot in his military conduct; all his other proceedings were agreeable to the laws of war, and worthy of a king *.

The philoſophers gave him no leſs trouble than the mercenaries, by endeavouring to fix a mark of infamy upon thoſe princes that declared for him, and by exciting the free nations to take up arms; for which reaſon he hanged many of them.

As to his war with Porus, we have an account of it in his own letters. According to them, the river Hydaſpes was between the two armies, and Porus drew up his elephants on the banks oppoſite the enemy, with their heads towards the ſtream, to guard it. Alexander cauſed a great noiſe and buſtle to be made every day in his camp, that the barbarians, being accuſtomed to it, might not be ſo ready to take the alarm †. This done, he took the advantage of a dark and ſtormy night, with part of his infantry, and a ſelect body of cavalry, to gain a little iſland in the river, at ſome diſtance from the Indians. When he was there, he and his troops were attacked with a moſt violent

* It was juſt and lawful, it ſeems, to go about haraſſing and deſtroying thoſe nations that had never offended him, and upon which he had no claim, except that avowed by the northern barbarians, when they entered Italy, namely, that the weak muſt ſubmit to the ſtrong! Indeed, thoſe barbarians were much honeſter men, for they had another, and a better plea; they went to ſeek bread.

† The Latin and French tranſlators have both miſtaken the ſenſe of this paſſage.—Εθιζοντα τους Βαρβαρους μη φοβεισθαι, is certainly capable of the ſenſe we have given it, and the context requires it ſhould be ſo underſtood. See Arrian, (l. v. Ed. St. p. 108. A. and B.) in ſupport of that conſtruction. See alſo Q. Curtius, l. viii. p. 263. Ed. Am.

violent wind and rain, accompanied with dreadful thunder and lightening. But, notwithſtanding this hurricane, in which he ſaw ſeveral of his men periſh by the lightening, he advanced from the iſland to the oppoſite bank. The Hydaſpes, ſwelled with the rain, by its violence and rapidity made a breach on that ſide, which received water enough to form a bay, ſo that when he came to land, he found the bank extremely ſlippery, and the ground broken and undermined by the current. On this occaſion he is ſaid to have uttered that celebrated ſaying, "Will you "believe, my Athenian friends, what dangers I undergo, "to have you the heralds of my fame?" The laſt particular we have from Oneſicritus: But Alexander himſelf only ſays, they quitted their boats, and, armed as they were, waded up the breach breaſt high; and that when they were landed, he advanced with the horſe twenty furlongs before the foot, concluding that if the enemy attacked him with their cavalry, he ſhould be greatly their ſuperior, and that if they made a movement with their infantry, his would come up time enough to receive them. Nor did he judge amiſs. The enemy detached againſt him a thouſand horſe and ſixty armed chariots, and he defeated them with eaſe. The chariots he took, and killed four hundred of the cavalry upon the ſpot. By this, Porus underſtood that Alexander himſelf had paſſed the river, and therefore brought up his whole army, except what appeared neceſſary to keep the reſt of the Macedonians from making good their paſſage. Alexander conſidering the force of the elephants, and the enemy's ſuperior numbers, did not chooſe to engage them in front, but attacked the left wing himſelf, while Cœnus, according to his orders, fell upon the right. Both wings being broken, retired to the elephants in the centre, and rallied there. The combat then was of a more mixed kind; but maintained with ſuch obſtinacy, that it was not decided till the eighth hour of the day. This deſcription of the battle we have from the conqueror himſelf, in one of his epiſtles.

Moſt hiſtorians agree, that Porus was four cubits and a palm high, and that though the elephant he rode was one of the largeſt, his ſtature and bulk were ſuch, that he appeared but proportionably mounted. This elephant, during the whole battle, gave extraordinary proofs of his ſagacity and care of the king's perſon. As long as that prince

prince was able to fight, he defended him with great courage, and repulsed all assailants; and when he perceived him ready to sink under the multitude of darts and the wounds with which he was covered, to prevent his falling off, he kneeled down in the softest manner, and with his proboscis gently drew every dart out of his body.

When Porus was taken prisoner, Alexander asked him, "How he desired to be treated?" He answered, "Like "a king." "And have you nothing else to request?" replied Alexander. "No," said he; "every thing is "comprehended in the word king." Alexander not only restored him his own dominions immediately, which he was to govern as his lieutenant, but added very extensive territories to them; for having subdued a free country, which contained fifteen nations, five thousand considerable cities, and villages in proportion, he bestowed it on Porus. Another country, three times as large, he gave to Philip, one of his friends, who was also to act there as his lieutenant.

In the battle with Porus, Bucephalus received several wounds, of which he died some time after. This is the account most writers give us: But Onesicritus says, he died of age and fatigue, for he was thirty years old. Alexander shewed as much regret, as if he had lost a faithful friend and companion. He esteemed him, indeed, as such; and built a city near the Hydaspes, in the place where he was buried, which he called, after him, Bucephalia. He is also reported to have built a city, and called it Peritas, in memory of a dog of that name, which he had brought up and was very fond of. This particular, Sotio says, he had from Potamo of Lesbos.

The combat with Porus abated the spirit of the Macedonians, and made them resolve to proceed no farther in India. It was with difficulty they had defeated an enemy who brought only twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse into the field; and therefore they opposed Alexander with great firmness, when he insisted that they should pass the

* Some transcriber seems to have given us the number of inhabitants in one city for the number of cities. Arrian's account of this: "He took thirty seven cities, the least of which contained five thou- "sand inhabitants, and several of them above ten thousand. He took "also a great number of villages not less populous than the cities, and "gave the government of the country to Porus."

the Ganges *, which, they were informed, was thirty-two furlongs in breadth, and in depth a hundred fathom. The opposite shore too was covered with numbers of squadrons, battalions, and elephants. For the kings of the Gandarites and Præsians were said to be waiting for them there, with eighty thousand horse, two hundred thousand foot, eight thousand chariots, and six thousand elephants trained to war. Nor is this number at all magnified: For Androcottus, who reigned not long after, made Seleucus a present of five hundred elephants at one time †, and with an army of six hundred thousand men traversed India, and conquered the whole.

Alexander's grief and indignation at this refusal were such, that at first he shut himself up in his tent, and lay prostrate on the ground, declaring "He did not thank "the Macedonians in the least for what they had done, if "they would not pass the Ganges; for he considered a "retreat as no other than an acknowledgment that he "was overcome." His friends omitted nothing that might comfort him; and at last their remonstrances, together with the cries and tears of the soldiers, who were suppliants at his door, melted him, and prevailed on him to return. However, he first contrived many vain and sophistical things to serve the purposes of fame; among which were arms much bigger than his men could use, and higher mangers, and heavier bits than his horses required, left scattered up and down. He built also great altars, for which the Præsians still retain much veneration, and their kings cross the Ganges every year to offer sacrifices in the Grecian manner upon them. Androcottus, who was then very young, had a sight of Alexander, and he is reported to have often said afterwards, "That Alexander was within a little of making "himself master of all the country; with such hatred and "contempt was the reigning prince looked upon, on account of his profligacy of manners, and meanness of "birth."

Alexander, in his march from thence, formed a design to see the ocean; for which purpose he caused a number of

* The Ganges is the largest of all the rivers in the three continents, the Indus the second, the Nile the third, and the Danube the fourth.

† Dacier says *five thousand*, but does not mention his authority. Perhaps it was only a slip in the writing, or in the printing.

of row-boats and rafts to be constructed, and, upon them, fell down the rivers at his leisure. Nor was this navigation unattended with hostilities. He made several descents by the way, and attacked the adjacent cities, which were all forced to submit to his victorious arms. However, he was very near being cut in pieces by the Malli, who are called the most warlike people in India. He had driven some of them from the wall with his missive weapons, and was the first man that ascended it. But presently after he was up, the scaling ladder broke. Finding himself and his small company * much galled by the darts of the barbarians from below, he poised himself, and leaped down into the midst of the enemy. By good fortune he fell upon his feet; and the barbarians were so astonished at the flashing of his arms as he came down, that they thought they beheld lightening, or some supernatural splendor issuing from his body. At first, therefore, they drew back and dispersed. But when they had recollected themselves, and saw him attended only by two of his guards, they attacked him hand to hand, and wounded him through his armour with their swords and spears, notwithstanding the valour with which he fought. One of them standing farther off, drew an arrow with such strength, that it made its way through his cuirass, and entered the ribs under the breast. Its force was so great, that he gave back and was brought upon his knees, and the barbarian ran up with his drawn scimitar to despatch him. Peucestas and Limnæus † placed themselves before him, but the one was wounded and the other killed. Peucestas, who survived, was still making some resistance, when Alexander recovered himself and laid the barbarian at his feet. The king, however, received new wounds, and at last had such a blow from a bludgeon upon his neck, that he was forced to support himself by the wall, and there stood with his face to the enemy. The Macedonians, who by this time had got in, gathered about him, and carried him off to his tent.

His senses were gone, and it was the current report in the army that he was dead. When they had, with great difficulty, sawed off the shaft, which was of wood, and with equal

* The word ολιγοστος implies, that he was not quite alone; and it appears immediately after that he was not.

† Q. Curtius calls him *Timæus*.

equal trouble had taken off the cuirafs, they proceeded to extract the head, which was three fingers broad, and four long, and ftuck faft in the bone. He fainted under the operation, and was very near expiring; but when the head was got out, he came to himfelf. Yet, after the danger was over, he continued weak, and a long time confined himfelf to a regular diet, attending folely to the cure of his wound. The Macedonians could not bear to be fo long deprived of the fight of their king; they affembled in a tumultuous manner about his tent. When he perceived this, he put on his robe, and made his appearance; but as foon as he had facrificed to the gods, he retired again. As he was on his way to the place of his deftination *, though carried in a litter by the water fide, he fubdued a large track of land, and many refpectable cities.

In the courfe of this expedition, he took ten of the *Gymnofophifts* †, who had been principally concerned in inftigating Sabbas to revolt, and had brought numberlefs other troubles upon the Macedonians. As thefe ten were reckoned the moft acute and concife in their anfwers, he put the moft difficult queftions to them that could be thought of, and at the fame time declared, he would put the firft perfon that anfwered wrong to death, and after him all the reft. The oldeft man among them was to be judge.

He demanded of the firft, "Which were moft numerous, "the living or the dead?" He anfwered, "The living; "for the dead no longer exift ‡."

The fecond was afked, "Whether the earth or the fea "produced the largeft animals?" He anfwered, "The "earth; for the fea is part of it."

The third, "Which was the craftieft of all animals?" "That," faid he, "with which man is not yet acquainted ‖."

The

* παρεκομιζετο.

† Thefe philofophers, fo called from their going naked, were divided into two fects, the Brachmani and the Germani. The Brachmani were moft efteemed, becaufe there was a confiftency in their principles. Apuleius tells us, that not only the fcholars, but the younger pupils, were affembled about dinner-time, and examined what good they had done that day; and fuch as could not point out fome act of humanity, or ufeful purfuit that they had been engaged in, were not allowed any dinner.

‡ They did not hold the mortality, but the tranfmigration of the foul.

‖ This we fuppofe to mean man himfelf, as not being acquainted with himfelf.

The fourth, "What was his reason for persuading "Sabbas to revolt?" "Because," said he, "I wished "him either to live with honour, or to die as a coward "deserves *."

The fifth had this question put to him, "Which do "you think oldest, the day or the night?" He answered, "The day, by one day." As the king appeared surprised at this solution, the philosopher told him, "Abstruse "questions must have abstruse answers."

Then addressing himself to the sixth, he demanded, "What are the best means for a man to make himself "loved?" He answered, "If possessed of great power, "do not make yourself feared."

The seventh was asked, "How a man might become "a god?" He answered, "By doing what is impossible "for man to do."

The eighth, "Which is strongest, life or death?" "Life," said he; "because it bears so many evils."

The last question that he put was, "How long is it good "for a man to live?" "As long," said the philosopher, "as he does not prefer death to life."

Then turning to the judge, he ordered him to give sentence. The old man said, "In my opinion they have "all answered one worse than another." "If this is thy "judgment," said Alexander, "thou shalt die first." "No," replied the philosopher; "not except you choose "to break your word: For you declared the man that "answered worst should first suffer."

The king loaded them with presents, and dismissed them. After which he sent Onesicritus, a disciple of Diogenes, to the other Indian sages who were of most reputation, and lived a retired life, to desire them to come to him. Onesicritus tells us, Calanus treated him with great insolence and harshness, bidding him to strip himself naked, if he desired to hear any of his doctrine; "You should not "hear

* One of the manuscrips gives us καλως here, instead of κακως. Then the sense will be, "Because I wished him either to live or die "with honour." Which we cannot but prefer; for he who has regard enough for a man to wish him to live with honour, cannot be so envious as to wish him to die with dishonour. At the same time we agree with Moses Du Soul, that some archness is intended in most of the answers; but what archness is there in this, as it is commonly translated, *Because I wished him either to live honourably, or to die miserably.*

" hear me on any other condition," ſaid he, " though you " came from Jupiter himſelf." Dandamis behaved with more civility; and when Oneſicritus had given him an account of Pythagoras, Socrates, and Diogenes, he ſaid, " They appeared to him to have been men of genius, " but to have lived with too paſſive a regard to the laws."

Others ſay, Dandamis entered into no diſcourſe with the meſſenger, but only aſked, " Why Alexander had " taken ſo long a journey?" As to Calanus, it is certain Taxiles prevailed with him to go to Alexander. His true name was Sphines; but becauſe he addreſſed them with the word *Cale*, which is the Indian form of ſalutation, the Greeks called him Calanus. This philoſopher, we are told, preſented Alexander with a good image of his empire. He laid a dry and ſhrivelled hide before him, and firſt trod upon the edges of it. This he did all round; and as he trod on one ſide, it ſtarted up on the other. At laſt, he fixed his feet on the middle, and then it lay ſtill. By this emblem he ſhewed him, that he ſhould fix his reſidence, and plant his principal force in the heart of his empire, and not wander to the extremities.

Alexander ſpent ſeven months in falling down the rivers to the ocean. When he arrived there, he embarked, and ſailed to an iſland which he called Scillouſtis*, but others call it Pſiltoucis. There he landed, and ſacrificed to the gods. He likewiſe conſidered the nature of the ſea and of the coaſt, as far as it was acceſſible. And after having beſought Heaven, " That no man might ever reach beyond " the bounds of his expedition," he prepared to ſet out on his way back. He appointed Nearchus admiral, and Oneſicritus chief pilot, and ordered his fleet to ſail round, keeping India on the right. With the reſt of his forces he returned by land, through the country of the Orites; in which he was reduced to ſuch extremities, and loſt ſuch numbers of men, that he did not bring back from India above a fourth part of the army he entered it with, which was no leſs than a hundred and twenty thouſand foot, and fifteen thouſand horſe. Violent diſtempers, ill diet, and exceſſive heats deſtroyed multitudes; but famine made ſtill greater ravages. For it was a barren and uncultivated country; the natives lived miſerably, having nothing to ſubſiſt

* Arrian calls it Cilutta. Here they firſt obſerved the ebbing and flowing of the ſea, which ſurpriſed them not a little.

ſubſiſt on a few bad ſheep, which uſed to feed on the fiſh thrown up by the ſea; conſequently they were poor, and their fleſh of a bad flavour.

With much difficulty he traverſed this country in ſixty days, and then arrived in Gedroſia. There he found proviſions in abundance; for beſides that the land is fertile in itſelf, the neighbouring princes and grandees ſupplied him. After he had given his army ſome time to refreſh themſelves, he marched in Carmania for ſeven days in a kind of Bacchanalian proceſſion. His chariot, which was very magnificent, was drawn by eight horſes. Upon it was placed a lofty platform, where he and his principal friends revelled day and night. This carriage was followed by many others, ſome covered with rich tapeſtry and purple hangings, and others ſhaded with branches of trees freſh gathered and flouriſhing. In theſe were the reſt of the king's friends and generals, crowned with flowers, and exhilarated with wine.

In this whole company there was not to be ſeen a buckler, a helmet, or ſpear; but, inſtead of them, cups, flagons, and goblets. Theſe the ſoldiers dipped in huge veſſels of wine, and drank to each other, ſome as they marched along, and others ſeated at tables, which were placed at proper diſtances on the way. The whole country reſounded with flutes, clarionets, and ſongs, and with the dances and riotous frolics of the women. This diſorderly and diſſolute march was cloſed with a very immodeſt figure *, and with all the licentious ribaldry of the Bacchanals, as if Bacchus himſelf had been preſent to carry on the debauch.

When Alexander arrived at the royal palace of Gedroſia †, he gave his army time to refreſh themſelves again, and entertained them with feaſts and public ſpectacles. At one of theſe, in which the choruſes diſputed the prize of dancing, he appeared inflamed with wine. His favourite Bagoas happening to win it, croſſed the theatre in his habit of ceremony, and ſeated himſelf by the king. The

Macedonians

* M. le Fevre (in his notes upon Anacreon) ſeems to have reſtored the genuine reading of this paſſage, by propoſing to read, inſtead of ταις φιαλαις, ὁ Φαλης; or Φαλλος.

† Gedroſia is certainly corrupt. Probably we ſhould read Carmenia. Βασιλειον ſignifies a capital city, as well as a royal palace, becauſe princes generally reſide in their capitals.

Macedonians expreſſed their ſatisfaction with loud plaudits, and called out to the king to kiſs him, with which at laſt he complied.

Nearchus joined him again here, and he was ſo much delighted with the account of his voyage, that he formed a deſign to ſail in perſon from the Euphrates with a great fleet, circle the coaſt of Arabia and Africa, and enter the Mediterranean by the Pillars of Hercules. For this purpoſe, he conſtructed, at Thapſacus, a number of veſſels of all ſorts, and collected mariners and pilots. But the report of the difficulties he had met with in his Indian expedition, particularly in his attack of the Malli, his great loſs of men, in the country of the Orites, and the ſuppoſition he would never return alive from the voyage he now meditated, excited his new ſubjects to revolt, and put his generals and governors of provinces upon diſplaying their injuſtice, inſolence, and avarice. In ſhort, the whole empire was in commotion, and ripe for rebellion. Olympias and Cleopatra, leaguing againſt Antipater, had ſeized his hereditary dominions, and divided them between them. Olympias took Epirus, and Cleopatra, Macedonia. The tidings of which being brought to Alexander, he ſaid, "His mother had conſidered right; for the Macedonians "would never bear to be governed by a woman."

In conſequence of this unſettled ſtate of things, he ſent Nearchus again to ſea, having determined to carry the war into the maritime provinces. Meantime he marched in perſon to chaſtiſe his lieutenants for their miſdemeanours. Oxyartes, one of the ſons of Abulites, he killed with his own hand, by a ſtroke of his javelin. Abulites had laid in no proviſions for him; he had only collected three thouſand talents in money. Upon his preſenting this, Alexander bade him offer it to his horſes; and, as they did not touch it, he ſaid, "Of what uſe will this proviſion "now be to me?" and immediately ordered Abulites to be taken into cuſtody.

The firſt thing he did after he entered Perſia, was to give this money to the matrons, according to the ancient cuſtom of the kings, who, upon their return from any excurſion to their Perſian dominions, uſed to give every woman a piece of gold. For this reaſon, ſeveral of them, we are told, made it a rule to return but ſeldom; and Ochus never did: He baniſhed himſelf to ſave his money.

Having

Having found the tomb of Cyrus broke open, he put the author of that sacrilege to death, though a native of Pella, and a person of some distinction. His name was Polymachus. After he had read the epitaph, which was in the Persian language, he ordered it to be inscribed also in Greek. It was as follows: O MAN! WHOSOEVER THOU ART, AND WHENCESOEVER THOU COMEST, (FOR COME I KNOW THOU WILT) I AM CYRUS, THE FOUNDER OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE. ENVY ME NOT THE LITTLE EARTH THAT COVERS MY BODY. Alexander was much affected at these words, which placed before him in so strong a light, the uncertainty and vicissitude of things.

It was here that Calanus, after having been disordered a little while with the cholic, desired to have his funeral pile erected. He approached it on horseback, offered up his prayers to heaven, poured the libations upon himself, cut off part of his hair*, and threw it on the fire; and, before he ascended the pile, took leave off the Macedonians, desiring them to spend the day in jollity and drinking with the king; "For I shall see him," said he, "in a little time "at Babylon." So saying he stretched himself upon the pile, and covered himself up. Nor did he move at the approach of the flames, but remained in the same posture till he had finished his sacrifice, according to the custom of the sages of his conntry. Many years after, another Indian did the same before Augustus Cæsar at Athens, whose tomb is shewn to this day, and called *the Indian's tomb*.

Alexander, as soon as he retired from the funeral pile, invited his friends and officers to supper, and, to give life to the carousal, promised that the man who drank most should be crowned for his victory. Promachus drank four measures of wine†, and carried off the crown, which was worth a talent, but survived it only three days. The rest of the guests, as Chares tells us, drank to such a degree, that forty-one of them lost their lives, the weather coming upon them extremely cold during their intoxication.

When he arrived at Susa, he married his friends to Persian ladies. He set them the example, by taking Statira, the daughter of Darius, to wife, and then distributed among his principal officers the virgins of highest quality. As

* As some of the hair used to be cut from the forehead of victims.

† About fourteen quarts. The *choeus* was six pints nine-tenths.

As for thofe Macedonians who had already married in Perfia, he made a general entertainment in commemoration of their nuptials. It is faid, that no lefs than nine thoufand guefts fat down, and yet he prefented each with a golden cup for performing the libation. Every thing elfe was conducted with the utmoft magnificence; he even paid off all their debts; infomuch that the whole expence amounted to nine thoufand eight hundred and feventy talents.

An officer, who had but one eye, named Antigenes, put himfelf upon this lift of debtors, and produced a perfon who declared he was fo much in his books. Alexander paid the money; but afterwards difcovering the fraud, in his anger forbade him the court, and took away his commiffion. There was no fault to be found with him as a foldier. He had diftinguifhed himfelf in his youth under Philip, at the fiege of Perinthus, where he was wounded in the eye with a dart fhot from one of the engines; and yet he would neither fuffer it to be taken out, nor quit the field, till he had repulfed the enemy, and forced them to retire into the town. The poor wretch could not bear the difgrace he had now brought upon himfelf; his grief and defpair were fo great, that it was apprehended he would put an end to his own life. To prevent fuch a cataftrophe, the king forgave him, and ordered him to keep the money.

The thirty thoufand boys, whom he left under proper mafters, were now grown fo much, and made fo handfome an appearance; and, what was of more importance, had gained fuch an activity and addrefs in their exercifes, that he was greatly delighted with them. But it was matter of uneafinefs to the Macedonians; they were apprehenfive that the king would have lefs regard for them. Therefore, when he gave the invalids there route to the fea, in order to their return, the whole army confidered it as an injurious and oppreffive meafure: "He has availed him-"felf," faid they, "beyond all reafon, of their fervices, "and now he fends them back with difgrace, and turns "them upon the hands of their country and their parents, "in a very different condition from that in which he re-"ceived them. Why does not he difmifs us all? Why "does not he reckon all the Macedonians incapable of "fervice, now he has got this body of young dancers? "Let him go with them and conquer the world."

Alexander

Alexander, incenſed at this mutinous behaviour, loaded them with reproaches; and ordering them off, took Perſians for his guards, and filled up other offices with them. When they ſaw their king with theſe new attendants, and themſelves rejected and ſpurned with diſhonour, they were greatly humbled. They lamented their fate to each other, and were almoſt frantic with jealouſy and anger. At laſt, coming to themſelves, they repaired to the king's tent, without arms, in one thin garment only; and with tears and lamentations delivered themſelves up to his vengeance; deſiring he would treat them as ungrateful men deſerved.

He was ſoftened with their complaints, but would not appear to hearken to them. They ſtood two days and nights, bemoaning themſelves in this manner, and calling for their dear maſter. The third day he came out to them; and when he ſaw their forlorn condition, he wept a long time. After a gentle rebuke for their miſbehaviour, he condeſcended to converſe with them in a freer manner; and ſuch as were unfit for ſervice he ſent over with magnificent preſents. At the ſame time, he ſignified his pleaſure to Antipater, that at all public diverſions they ſhould have the moſt honourable ſeats in the theatres, and wear chaplets of flowers there; and that the children of thoſe who had loſt their lives in his ſervice, ſhould have their fathers' pay continued to them.

When he came to Ecbatana in Media, and had deſpatched the moſt urgent affairs, he employed himſelf again in the celebration of games and other public ſolemnities; for which purpoſe three thouſand artificers, lately arrived from Greece, were very ſerviceable to him. But unfortunately Hephæſtion fell ſick of a fever in the midſt of this feſtivity. As a young man and a ſoldier, he could not bear to be kept to ſtrict diet; and taking the opportunity to dine when his phyſician Glaucus was gone to the theatre, he ate a roaſted fowl, and drank a flagon of wine made as cold as poſſible; in conſequence of which he grew worſe, and died a few days after.

Alexander's grief on this occaſion exceeded all bounds. He immediately ordered the horſes and mules to be ſhorn, that they might have their ſhare in the mourning, and with the ſame view pulled down the battlements of the neighbouring cities. The poor phyſician he crucified. He forbade

bade the flute and all other music in his camp for a long time. This continued till he received an oracle from Jupiter Ammon, which enjoined him to revere Hephæstion, and sacrifice to him as a demi-god. After this he sought to relieve his sorrow by hunting, or rather by war; for his game were men. In this expedition he conquered the Cussæans, and put all that were come to years of puberty to the sword. This he called a sacrifice to the *manes* of Hephæstion!

He designed to lay out ten thousand talents upon his tomb and the monumental ornaments, and that the workmanship, as well as design, should exceed the expence, great as it was. He therefore desired to have Stasicrates for his architect, whose genius promised a happy boldness and grandeur in every thing that he planned. This was the man who had told him, some time before, that Mount Athos in Thrace was most capable of being cut into a human figure; and that, if he had but his orders, he would convert it into a statue for him, the most lasting and conspicuous in the world: A statue, which should have a city with ten thousand inhabitants in its left hand, and a river that flowed to the sea with a strong current in its right. He did not, however, embrace that proposal, though at that time he busied himself with his architects in contriving and laying out even more absurd and expensive designs.

As he was advancing towards Babylon, Nearchus, who was returned from his expedition on the ocean, and come up the Euphrates, declared, he had been applied to by some Chaldæans, who were strongly of opinion that Alexander should not enter Babylon. But he slighted the warning and continued his march. Upon his approach to the walls, he saw a great number of crows fighting, some of which fell down dead at his feet. Soon after this, being informed, that Apollodorus, governor of Babylon, had sacrificed, in order to consult the gods concerning him, he sent for Pythagoras the diviner; and, as he did not deny the fact, asked him how the entrails of the victim appeared. Pythagoras answered, the liver was without a head. "A terrible presage, indeed!" said Alexander. He let Pythagoras go with impunity: But by this time he was sorry he had not listened to Nearchus. He lived mostly in his pavilion without the walls, and diverted himself with sailing

ing up and down the Euphrates. For there had happened ſeveral other ill omens that much diſturbed him. One of the largeſt and handſomeſt lions that were kept in Babylon, was attacked and kicked to death by an aſs. One day he ſtripped for the refreſhment of oil, and to play at ball: After the diverſion was over, the young men who played with him, going to fetch his clothes, beheld a man ſitting in profound ſilence on his throne, dreſſed in the royal robes, with the diadem upon his head. They demanded who he was, and it was a long time before he would anſwer. At laſt, coming to himſelf, he ſaid, "My name is Dionyſius, "and I am a native of Meſſene. Upon a criminal pro-"ceſs againſt me, I left the place, and embarked for "Babylon. There I have been kept a long time in chains. "But this day the god Serapis appeared to me, and broke "my chains; after which he conducted me hither, and "ordered me to put on this robe and diadem, and ſit here "in ſilence."

After the man had thus explained himſelf, Alexander, by the advice of his ſoothſayers, put him to death. But the anguiſh of his mind increaſed; on one hand, he almoſt deſpaired of the ſuccours of heaven, and on the other diſtruſted his friends. He was moſt afraid of Antipater and his ſons; one of which, named Iolaus *, was his cup-bearer; the other, named Caſſander, was lately arrived from Macedonia; and happening to ſee ſome barbarians proſtrate themſelves before the king, like a man accuſtomed only to the Grecian manners, and a ſtranger to ſuch a ſight, he burſt out into a loud laugh. Alexander, enraged at the affront, ſeized him by the hair, and with both hands daſhed his head againſt the wall. Caſſander afterwards attempted to vindicate his father againſt his accuſers; which greatly irritated the king. "What is "this talk of thine?" ſaid he. "Doſt thou think that "men who had ſuffered no injury, would come ſo far to "bring a falſe charge?" "Their coming ſo far," replied Caſſander, "is an argument that the charge is falſe, be-"cauſe they are at a diſtance from thoſe who are able to "contradict them." At this Alexander ſmiled, and ſaid, "Theſe are ſome of Ariſtotle's ſophiſms, which make "equally

* Arrian and Curtius call him *Iollas*. Plutarch calls him *Iolas* below.

"equally for either ſide of the queſtion. But be aſſured "I will make you repent it, if theſe men have had the "leaſt injuſtice done them."

This, and other menaces left ſuch a terror upon Caſſander, and made ſo laſting an impreſſion upon his mind, that many years after, when king of Macedon, and maſter of all Greece, as he was walking about at Delphi, and taking a view of the ſtatues, the ſudden ſight of that of Alexander is ſaid to have ſtruck him with ſuch horror, that he trembled all over, and it was with difficulty he recovered of the giddineſs it cauſed in his brain.

When Alexander had once given himſelf up to ſuperſtition, his mind was ſo preyed upon by vain fears and anxieties that he turned the leaſt incident which was any thing ſtrange and out of the way, into a ſign or a prodigy. The court ſwarmed with ſacrificers, purifiers, and prognoſticators; they were all to be ſeen exerciſing their talents there. So true it is, that though the diſbelief of religion, and contempt of things divine, is a great evil; yet ſuperſtition is a greater. For as water gains upon low grounds*, ſo ſuperſtition prevails over a dejected mind, and fills it with fear and folly. This was entirely Alexander's caſe. However, upon the receipt of ſome oracles concerning Hephæſtion, from the god he commonly conſulted, he gave a truce to his ſorrows, and employed himſelf in feſtive ſacrifices and entertainments.

One day, after he had given Nearchus a ſumptuous treat, he went, according to cuſtom, to refreſh himſelf in the bath, in order to retire to reſt. But in the mean time Medius came and invited him to take part in a carouſal, and he could not deny him. There he drank all that night and the next day, till at laſt he found a fever coming upon him. It did not, however, ſeize him as he was drinking the cup of Hercules, nor did he find a ſudden pain in his back, as if it had been pierced with a ſpear. Theſe are circumſtances invented by writers, who thought the cataſtrophe of ſo noble a tragedy ſhould be ſomething affecting

* The text in this place is corrupt. For the ſake of thoſe readers who have not Bryan's edition of the Greek, we ſhall give the emendation which the learned Moſes du Soul propoſes—ἡ δεισιδαιμονια δικην ὑδατος, αει προς το ταπεινουμενον και ΚΑΤΑΝΤΕΣ ΡΕΟΥΣΑ, αβελτηριας και φοβου τον Αλεξανδρον ΑΝΕΠΛΗΡΟΥ.

ing and extraordinary. Ariſtobulus tells us, that in the rage of his fever, and the violence of his thirſt, he took a draught of wine, which threw him into a frenzy, and that he died the thirtieth of the month *Daeſius, June.*

But in his journals the account of his ſickneſs is as follows: "On the eighteenth of the month Daeſius, finding "the fever upon him, he lay in his bath-room. The "next day, after he had bathed, he removed into his own "chamber, and played many hours with Medius at dice. "In the evening he bathed again, and after having ſacri-"ficed to the gods, he ate his ſupper. In the night the "fever returned. The twentieth he alſo bathed, and, "after the cuſtomary ſacrifice, ſat in the bath-room, and "diverted himſelf with hearing Nearchus tell the ſtory "of his voyage, and all that was moſt obſervable with re-"ſpect to the ocean. The twenty-firſt was ſpent in the "ſame manner. The fever increaſed, and he had a very "bad night. The twenty-ſecond, the fever was violent. "He ordered his bed to be removed, and placed by the "great bath. There he talked to his generals about the "vacancies in his army, and deſired they might be filled "up with experienced officers. The twenty-fourth, he "was much worſe. He choſe, however, to be carried to "aſſiſt at the ſacrifice. He likewiſe gave orders, that "the principal officers of the army ſhould wait within the "court, and the others keep watch all night without. "The twenty-fifth, he was removed to his palace, on "the other ſide of the river, where he ſlept a little, but "the fever did not abate; and when his generals entered "the room he was ſpeechleſs. He continued ſo the day "following. The Macedonians, by this time, thinking "he was dead, came to the gates with great clamour, "and threatened the great officers in ſuch a manner, that "they were forced to admit them, and ſuffer them all to "paſs unarmed by the bed-ſide. The twenty-ſeventh, "Python and Seleucus were ſent to the temple of Serapis, "to inquire whether they ſhould carry Alexander thither, "and the deity ordered that they ſhould not remove him. "The twenty-eighth, in the evening, he died." Theſe particulars are taken almoſt word for word from his diary.

There was no ſuſpicion of poiſon at the time of his death; but ſix years after, (we are told) Olympias, upon ſome

ſome information, put a number of people to death, and ordered the remains of Iolas, who was ſuppoſed to have given him the draught, to be dug out of the grave. Thoſe who ſay Ariſtotle adviſed Antipater to ſuch a horrid deed, and furniſhed him with the poiſon he ſent to Babylon, allege one Agnothemis as their author, who is pretended to have had the information from king Antigonus. They add, that the poiſon was a water of a cold and deadly quality*, which diſtils from a rock in the territory of Nonacris; and that they receive it as they would do ſo many dew-drops, and keep it in an aſs's hoof; its extreme coldneſs and acrimony being ſuch, that it makes its way through all other veſſels. The generality, however, look upon the ſtory of the poiſon as a mere fable; and they have this ſtrong argument in their favour, that tho', on account of the diſputes which the great officers were engaged in for many days, the body lay unembalmed † in a ſultry place, it had no ſign of any ſuch taint, but continued freſh and clear.

Roxana was now pregnant, and therefore had great attention paid her by the Macedonians. But being extremely jealous of Statira, ſhe laid a ſnare for her by a forged letter, as from Alexander; and having by this means, got her into her power, ſhe ſacrificed both her and her ſiſter, and threw their bodies into a well, which ſhe filled up with earth. Perdiccas was her accomplice in this murder. Indeed, he had now the principal power, which he exerciſed in the name of Aridæus, whom he treated rather as a ſcreen than as a king.

Aridæus was the ſon of Philip, by a courtezan named Philinna, a woman of low birth. His deficiency in underſtanding was the conſequence of a diſtemper, in which neither nature nor accident had any ſhare. For it is ſaid, there was ſomething amiable and great in him when a boy; which Olympias perceiving, gave him potions that diſturbed his brain ‡.

 JULIUS

* Hence it was called the *Stygian Water*. Nonacris was a city of Arcadia.

† αθεραπευτον.

‡ Portraits of the ſame perſon, taken at different periods of life, though they differ greatly from each other, retain a reſemblance upon the whole. And ſo it is in general with the characters of men. But Alexander

JULIUS CÆSAR.

WHEN Sylla had made himſelf maſter of Rome*, he endeavoured to bring Cæſar to repudiate Cornelia, daughter to Cinna one of the late tyrants; and finding he could not effect it either by hopes or fears†, he confiſcated her dowry. Indeed, Cæſar, as a relation to Marius, was naturally an enemy to Sylla. Old Marius had married Julia, Cæſar's aunt, and therefore young Marius, the ſon he had by her, was Cæſar's couſin german. At firſt Sylla, amidſt the vaſt number of proſcriptions that engaged his attention, overlooked this enemy; but Cæſar, not content with eſcaping ſo, preſented himſelf to the people as a candidate for the prieſthood‡, though he was not yet come to years of maturity. Sylla exerted his influence againſt him, and he miſcarried. The dictator afterwards thought of having him taken off, and when ſome ſaid, there was no need to put ſuch a boy to death, he anſwered, "Their ſagacity was ſmall, if they did not in that "boy ſee many Marius's."

This ſaying being reported to Cæſar, he concealed himſelf a long time, wandering up and down in the country of

Alexander ſeems to be an exception; for nothing can admit of greater diſſimilarity than that which entered into his diſpoſition at different times, and in different circumſtances. He was brave and puſillanimous, merciful and cruel, modeſt and vain, abſtemious and luxurious, rational and ſuperſtitious, polite and overbearing, politic and imprudent. Nor were theſe changes caſual or temporary: The ſtyle of his character underwent a total revolution, and he paſſed from virtue to vice in a regular and progreſſive manner. Munificence and pride were the only characteriſtics that never forſook him. If there were any vice of which he was incapable, it was avarice; if any virtue, it was humility.

* Some imagine that the beginning of this Life is loſt; but if they look back to the Introduction to the Life of Alexander, that notion will vaniſh.

† Cæſar would not make ſuch a ſacrifice to the dictator as Piſo had done, who, at his command, divorced his wife Annia. Pompey, too, for the ſake of Sylla's alliance, repudiated Antiſtia.

‡ Cæſar had the prieſthood before Sylla was dictator. In the ſeventeenth year of his age, he broke his engagement to Coſſutia, though ſhe was of a conſular and opulent family, and married Cornelia, the daughter of Cinna, by whoſe intereſt, and that of Marius, he was created *Flamen Dialis* or Prieſt of Jupiter. Sylla, when abſolute maſter of Rome, inſiſted on his divorcing Cornelia, and, upon his refuſal, deprived him of that office. SUETON. in Julio.

of the Sabines. Amidst his movements from house to house he fell sick, and on that account was forced to be carried in a litter. The soldiers employed by Sylla to search those parts, and drag the proscribed persons from their retreats, one night fell in with him; but Cornelius, who commanded them, was prevailed on by a bribe of two talents to let him go.

He then hastened to sea, and sailed to Bithynia, where he sought protection of Nicomedes the king. His stay, however, with him was not long. He re-embarked, and was taken, near the isle of Pharmacusa, by pirates, who were masters of that sea, and blocked up all the passages with a number of galleys and other vessels. They asked him only twenty talents for his ransom. He laughed at their demand, as the consequence of their not knowing him, and promised them fifty talents. To raise the money, he despatched his people to different cities, and in the mean time remained with only one friend and two attendants among these Cilicians, who considered murder as a trifle. Cæsar, however, held them in great contempt, and used to send, whenever he went to sleep, and order them to keep silence. Thus he lived among them thirty-eight days, as if they had been his guards, rather than his keepers. Perfectly fearless and secure, he joined in their diversions, and took his exercises among them. He wrote poems and orations, and rehearsed them to these pirates; and when they expressed no admiration, he called them dunces and barbarians. Nay, he often threatened to crucify them. They were delighted with these freedoms, which they imputed to his frank and facetious vein. But as soon as the money was brought from Miletus, and he had recovered his liberty, he manned some vessels in the port of Miletus *, in order to attack these corsairs. He found them still lying at anchor by the island, took most of them, together with the money, and imprisoned them at Pergamus. After which, he applied to Junius, who then commanded in Asia, because to him, as prætor, it belonged to punish them. Junius having an eye upon the money, which was a considerable sum, demurred about the matter; and Cæsar, perceiving his intention, returned to Pergamus, and crucified all the prisoners, as he had often

* Dacier reads *Melos*, which was one of the Cyclades, but does not mention his authority.

often threatened to do at Pharmacusa, when they took him to be in jest.

When the power of Sylla came to be upon the decline, Cæsar's friends pressed him to return to Rome. But first he went to Rhodes, to study under Apollonius, the son of Molo *, who taught rhetoric there with great reputation, and was a man of irreproachable manners. Cicero also was one of his scholars. Cæsar is said to have had happy talents from nature for a public speaker, and he did not want an ambition to cultivate them; so that undoubtedly he was the second orator in Rome; and he might have been the first, had he not rather chosen the pre-eminence in arms. Thus he never rose to that pitch of eloquence to which his powers would have brought him, being engaged in those wars and political intrigues, which at last gained him the empire. Hence it was, that afterwards, in his *Anticato*, which he wrote in answer to a book of Cicero's, he desired his readers "Not to expect in the "performance of a military man the style of a complete "orator, who had bestowed all his time upon such studies."

Upon his return to Rome, he impeached Dolabella for misdemeanors in his government, and many cities of Greece supported the charge by their evidence. Dolabella

* It should be *Apollonius Molo*, not Apollonius the son of Molo. According to Suetonius, Cæsar had studied under him at Rome before this adventure of the pirates. Thus far Dacier; and Ruauld and other critics say the same. Yet Strabo (l. xiv. p. 655, 660, 661.) tells us, Molo and Apollonius were two different men. He affirms that they were both natives of Alabanda, a city of Caria; that they were both scholars of Menacles the Alabandian; and that they both professed the same art at Rhodes, though Molo went thither later than Apollonius, who, on that account, applied to him that of Homer, Οψε μολων. Cicero likewise seems to distinguish them, calling the one Molo, and the other Apollonius the Alabandian, especially in his first book *De Oratore*, where he introduces M. Antonius speaking of him thus: "For "this one thing I always liked Apollonius the Alabandian; though he "taught for money, he did not suffer any whom he thought incapable "of making a figure as orators, to lose their time and labour with "him, but sent them home, exhorting them to apply themselves to "that art, for which they were, in his opinion, best qualified."

To solve this difficulty, we are willing to suppose, with Ruauld, that there were two Molo's, cotemporaries; for the testimonies of Suetonius (in Cæsare, c. 4.) and of Quintilian (Institut. l. xii. c. 6.) that Cæsar and Cicero were pupils to Apollonius Molo, can never be over-ruled.

bella was acquitted. Cæſar, however, in acknowledgement of the readineſs Greece had ſhewn to ſerve him, aſſiſted her in her proſecution of Publius Antonius for corruption. The cauſe was brought before Marcus Lucullus, prætor of Macedonia; and Cæſar pleaded it in ſo powerful a manner, that the defendant was forced to appeal to the tribunes of the people; alleging that he was not upon equal terms with the Greeks in Greece.

The eloquence he ſhewed at Rome in defending perſons impeached, gained him a conſiderable intereſt, and his engaging addreſs and converſation carried the hearts of the people. For he had a condeſcenſion not to be expected from ſo young a man. At the ſame time, the freedom of his table, and the magnificence of his expence, gradually increaſed his power, and brought him into the adminiſtration. Thoſe who envied him, imagined that his reſources would ſoon fail, and therefore, at firſt, made light of his popularity, conſiderable as it was. But when it was grown to ſuch a height that it was ſcarce poſſible to demoliſh it, and had a plain tendency to the ruin of the conſtitution, they found out, when it was too late, that no beginnings of things, however ſmall, are to be neglected; becauſe continuance makes them great; and the very contempt they are held in, gives them opportunity to gain that ſtrength which cannot be reſiſted.

Cicero ſeems to be the firſt who ſuſpected ſomething formidable from the flattering calm of Cæſar's political conduct, and ſaw deep and dangerous deſigns under the ſmiles of his benignity. "I perceive," ſaid the orator, "an inclination for tyranny in all he projects and executes; but, on the other hand, when I ſee him adjuſting his hair with ſo much exactneſs, and ſcratching his head with one finger, I can hardly think that ſuch a man can conceive ſo vaſt and fatal a deſign, as the deſtruction of the Roman commonwealth." This, however, was an obſervation made at a much later period than that we are upon.

The firſt proof he had of the affection of the people, was when he obtained a tribuneſhip in the army before his competitor Caius Popilius. The ſecond was more remarkable: It was on occaſion of his pronouncing from the roſtrum the funeral oration of his aunt Julia, the wife of Marius, in which he failed not to do juſtice to her virtue

virtue. At the ſame time he had the hardineſs to produce the images of Marius, which had not been ſeen before during Sylla's adminiſtration; Marius and all his adherents having been declared enemies to the ſtate. Upon this ſome began to raiſe a clamour againſt Cæſar; but they were ſoon ſilenced by the acclamations and plaudits of the people, expreſſing their admiration of his courage in bringing the honours of Marius again to light, after ſo long a ſuppreſſion, and raiſing them, as it were, from the ſhades below.

It had long been the cuſtom in Rome, for the aged women to have funeral panegyrics, but not the young. Cæſar firſt broke through it, by pronouncing one for his own wife, who died in her prime. This contributed to fix him in the affections of the people: They ſympathized with him, and conſidered him as a man of great good-nature, and one who had the ſocial duties at heart.

After the funeral of his wife, he went out quæſtor into Spain with * Antiſtius Veter the prætor, whom he honoured all his life after; and when he came to be prætor himſelf, he acknowledged the favour by taking Veter's ſon for his quæſtor. When that commiſſion was expired, he took Pompeia to his third wife; having a daughter by his firſt wife Cornelia, whom he afterwards married to Pompey the Great.

Many people, who obſerved his prodigious expence, thought he was purchaſing a ſhort and tranſient honour very dear, but, in fact, he was gaining the greateſt things he could aſpire to, at a ſmall price. He is ſaid to have been a thouſand three hundred talents in debt before he got any public employment. When he had the ſuperintendance of the Appian Road, he laid out a great deal of his own money; and when ædile, he not only exhibited three hundred and twenty pair of gladiators, but in the other diverſions of the theatre, in the proceſſions and public tables, he far outſhone the moſt ambitious that had gone before him. Theſe things attached the people to him ſo ſtrongly, that every one ſought for new honours and employments, to recompenſe his generoſity.

There were two factions in the ſtate; that of Sylla, which was the ſtrongeſt; and that of Marius, which was in-

* See Vell. Paterculus, ii. 43.

in a broken and low condition. Cæsar's ſtudy was to raiſe and revive the latter. In purſuance of which intention, when his exhibitions, as ædile, were in the higheſt reputation, he cauſed new images of Marius to be privately made, together with a repreſentation of his victories adorned with trophies, and one night placed them in the capitol. Next morning theſe figures were ſeen gliſtering with gold, of the moſt exquiſite workmanſhip, and bearing inſcriptions which declared them the achievements of Marius againſt the Cimbri. The ſpectators were aſtoniſhed at the boldneſs of the man who erected them; nor was it difficult to know who he was. The report ſpread with the utmoſt rapidity, and the whole city aſſembled to ſee them. Some exclaimed, that Cæſar plainly affected the tyranny, by openly producing thoſe honours which the laws had condemned to darkneſs and oblivion. This, they ſaid, was done to make a trial of the people, whom he had prepared by his careſſes, whether they would ſuffer themſelves to be entirely caught by his venal benefactions, and let him play upon them and make what innovations he pleaſed. On the other hand, the partizans of Marius encouraging each other, ran to the capitol in vaſt numbers, and made it echo with their plaudits. Some of them even wept for joy at the ſight of Marius's countenance. They beſtowed the higheſt encomiums upon Cæſar, and declared he was the only relation worthy of that great man.

The ſenate was aſſembled on the occaſion, and Lutatius Catulus, a man of the greateſt reputation in Rome, roſe and accuſed Cæſar. In his ſpeech againſt him was this memorable expreſſion, "You no longer attack the commonwealth by mines, but by open battery." Cæſar, however defended his cauſe ſo well, that the ſenate gave it for him: And his admirers, ſtill more elated, deſired him to keep up a ſpirit of enterprize, for he might gain every thing with the conſent of the people, and eaſily become the firſt man in Rome.

Amidſt theſe tranſactions, died Metellus, the principal pontiff. The office was ſolicited by Iſauricus and Catulus, two of the moſt illuſtrious men in Rome, and of the greateſt intereſt in the ſenate. Neverthele ſs, Cæſar did not give place to them, but preſented himſelf to the people as a candidate. The pretenſions and proſpects of the

the competitors feemed almoft equal, and Catulus, more uneafy than the others under the uncertainty of fuccefs, on account of his fuperior dignity, fent privately to Cæfar, and offered him large fums, on condition that he would defift from his high purfuit. But he anfwered, "He would rather borrow ftill larger fums to carry his "election."

When the day of election came, Cæfar's mother attending him to the door, with her eyes bathed in tears, he embraced her and faid, "My dear mother, you will fee "me this day either chief pontiff or an exile." There never was any thing more ftrongly contefted; the fuffrages, however, gave it for Cæfar. The fenate, and others of the principal citizens, were greatly alarmed at this fuccefs; they apprehended that he would now pufh the people into all manner of licentioufnefs and mifrule. Therefore, Pifo and Catulus blamed Cicero much for fparing Cæfar, when Catiline's confpiracy gave him an opportunity to take him off. Catiline, whofe intention was not fo much to make alterations in the conftitution, as entirely to fubvert it, and throw all into confufion, upon fome flight fufpicions appearing againft him, quitted Rome before the whole was unravelled; but he left behind him Lentulus and Cethegus to conduct the confpiracy within the city.

Whether Cæfar privately encouraged and fupported them, is uncertain: What is univerfally agreed upon, is this. The guilt of thofe two confpirators clearly appearing, Cicero, as conful, took the fenfe of the fenators as to the punifhment that fhould be inflicted upon them; and they all gave it for death, till it came to Cæfar's turn, who, in a ftudied fpeech, reprefented, "That it feemed "neither agreeable to juftice, nor to the cuftoms of their "country, to put men of their birth and dignity to death, "without an open trial, except in cafe of extreme necef- "fity. But that they fhould rather be kept in prifon, in "any of the cities of Italy that Cicero might pitch upon, "till Catiline was fubdued; and then the fenate might "take cognizance of the crimes of each confpirator in "full peace, and at their leifure."

As there appeared fomething humane in this opinion, and it was powerfully enforced by the orator, thofe who gave their voices afterwards, and even many who had declared for the other fide of the queftion, came into it.

But Cato and Catulus carried it for death. Cato, in a ſevere ſpeech againſt the opinion of Cæſar, ſcrupled not to declare his ſuſpicions of him; and this, with other arguments, had ſo much weight, that the two conſpirators were delivered to the executioner. Nay, as Cæſar was going out of the ſenate houſe, ſeveral of the young men, who guarded Cicero's perſon, ran upon him with their drawn ſwords; but we are told that Curio covered him with his gown, and ſo carried him off; and that Cicero himſelf, when the young men looked at him for a nod of conſent, refuſed it, either out of fear of the people, or becauſe he thought the killing him unjuſt and unlawful. If this was true, I know not why Cicero did not mention it in the hiſtory of his conſulſhip. He was blamed, however, afterwards, for not availing himſelf of ſo good an opportunity as he then had, and for being influenced by his fears of the people, who were indeed ſtrongly attached to Cæſar: For, a few days after, when Cæſar entered the ſenate, and endeavoured to clear himſelf of the ſuſpicions he lay under, his defence was received with indignation and loud reproaches; and as they ſat longer than uſual, the people beſet the houſe, and with violent outcries demanded Cæſar, abſolutely inſiſting on his being diſmiſſed.

Cato, therefore, fearing an inſurrection of the indigent populace, who were foremoſt in all ſeditions, and who had fixed their hopes upon Cæſar, perſuaded the ſenate to order a diſtribution of bread-corn among them every month, which added five million five hundred thouſand *drachmas* to the yearly expence of the ſtate*. This expedient certainly obviated the preſent danger, by ſeaſonably reducing the power of Cæſar, who was now prætor elect, and more formidable on that account.

Cæſar's prætorſhip was not productive of any trouble to the commonwealth, but that year there happened a diſagreeable event in his own family. There was a young patrician, named Publius Clodius, of great fortune, and diſtinguiſhed eloquence, but at the ſame time one of the foremoſt among the vicious and the profligate. This man entertained a paſſion for Pompeia, Cæſar's wife, nor did ſhe diſcountenance it. But the women's apartment was ſo narrowly

* But this diſtribution did not continue long.

narrowly obſerved, and all the ſteps of Pompeia ſo much attended to by Aurelia, Cæſar's mother, who was a woman of great virtue and prudence, that it was difficult and hazardous for them to have an interview.

Among the goddeſſes the Romans worſhip, there is one they call *Bona Dea, the good goddeſs*, as the Greeks have one they call *Gynæcea, the patroneſs of the women.* The Phrygians claim her as the mother of their king Midas; the Romans ſay, ſhe was a Dryad, and wife of Faunus; and the Greeks aſſure us, ſhe is that mother of Bacchus, whoſe name is not to be uttered. For this reaſon, the women, when they keep her feſtival, cover their tents with vine branches; and, according to the fable, a ſacred dragon lies at the feet of the goddeſs. No man is allowed to be preſent, nor even to be in the houſe, at the celebration of her orgies. Many of the ceremonies the women then perform by themſelves, are ſaid to be like thoſe in the feaſts of Orpheus.

When the anniverſary of the feſtival comes, the conſul or prætor (for it is at the houſe of one of them it is kept) goes out, and not a male is left in it. The wife now having the houſe to herſelf, decorates it in a proper manner; the myſteries are performed in the night; and the whole is ſpent in muſic and play. Pompeia this year was the directreſs of the feaſt. Clodius, who was yet a beardleſs youth, thought he might paſs in women's apparel undiſcovered, and having taken the garb and inſtruments of a female muſician, perfectly reſembled one. He found the door open, and was ſafely introduced by a maid-ſervant who knew the affair. She ran before to tell Pompeia; and as ſhe ſtayed a conſiderable time, Clodius durſt not remain where ſhe left him, but wandering about the great houſe, endeavouring to avoid the lights. At laſt, Aurelia's woman fell in with him, and ſuppoſing ſhe ſpoke to a woman, challenged him to play. Upon his refuſing it, ſhe drew him into the midſt of the room, and aſked him who he was, and whence he came? He ſaid, he waited for Abra, Pompeia's maid; for that was her name. His voice immediately detected him: Aurelia's woman ran up to the lights and the company, crying out ſhe had found a man in the houſe. The thing ſtruck them all with terror and aſtoniſhment. Aurelia put a ſtop to the ceremonies, and covered up the ſymbols of their myſterious worſhip. She ordered

ordered the doors to be made faſt, and with lighted torches hunted up and down for the man. At length Clodius was found, lurking in the chamber of the maid-ſervant who had introduced him. The women knew him, and turned him out of the houſe; after which, they went home immediately, though it was yet night, and informed their huſbands of what had happened.

Next morning the report of the ſacrilegious attempt ſpread through all Rome, and nothing was talked of, but that Clodius ought to make ſatisfaction with his life to the family he had offended, as well as to the city, and to the gods. One of the tribunes impeached him of impiety; and the principal ſenators ſtrengthened the charge, by accuſing him, to his face, of many villainous debaucheries, and, among the reſt, of inceſt with his own ſiſter, the wife of Lucullus. On the other hand, the people exerted themſelves with equal vigour in his defence, and the great influence the fear of them had upon his judges, was of much ſervice to his cauſe. Cæſar immediately divorced Pompeia; yet, when called as an evidence on the trial, he declared he knew nothing of what was alleged againſt Clodius. As this declaration appeared ſomewhat ſtrange, the accuſer demanded, why, if that was the caſe, he had divorced his wife: "Becauſe," ſaid he, "I would have the "chaſtity of my wife clear even of ſuſpicion." Some ſay Cæſar's evidence was according to his conſcience; others, that he gave it to oblige the people, who were ſet upon ſaving Clodius. Be that as it might, Clodius came off clear; moſt of the judges having confounded * the letters upon

* Here it is συγκεχυμενας τοις πραγμασι τας γνωμας. M. Dacier would correct by this the paſſage in the life of Cicero, which is τας δελτυς συγκεχυμενας τοις γραμμασι. He tranſlates it, *la plûpart des juges ayant donné leurs avis ſur pluſieurs affaires en même tems; the greateſt part of the judges comprehending other cauſes along with this in their ſentence.* But that could not be the caſe; for that manner of paſſing ſentence, or rather of paſſing bills, was forbidden by the Lex Cæcilia et Didia. Beſides, it would not have anſwered the purpoſe: Their ſentence would have been equally known. We therefore rather chooſe to correct this paſſage by that in the Life of Cicero.

After the pleadings were finiſhed, the prætor gave each of the judges three tablets; one marked with the letter *A*, which acquitted; another with the letter *C*, which condemned, and a third with *N. L. Non Liquet; the caſe is not clear.* Each judge put into an urn which tablet he pleaſed: And as they withdrew to conſult before they did it, it was eaſy

upon the tablets, that they might neither expose themselves to the resentment of the plebeians, if they condemned him, nor lose their credit with the patricians, if they acquitted him.

The government of Spain was allotted Cæsar after his prætorship. But his circumstances were so indifferent, and his creditors so clamorous and troublesome when he was preparing for his departure, that he was forced to apply to Crassus, the richest man in Rome, who stood in need of Cæsar's warmth and vigour to keep up the balance against Pompey. Crassus, therefore, took upon him to answer the most inexorable of his creditors, and engaged for eight hundred and thirty talents; which procured him liberty to set out for his province.

It is said, that when he came to a little town, in passing the Alps, his friends, by way of mirth, took occasion to say, "Can there here be any disputes for offices, any "contentions for precedency, or such envy and ambi-"tion as we see among the great?" To which Cæsar answered, with great seriousness, "I assure you, I had "rather be the first man here, than the second man in "Rome."

In like manner we are told, that when he was in Spain, he bestowed some leisure hours on reading part of the history of Alexander, and was so much affected with it, that he sat pensive a long time, and at last burst out into tears. As his friends were wondering what might be the reason, he said, "Do you think I have not sufficient cause "for concern, when Alexander at my age reigned over so "many

easy to deface or obscure any letters upon the tablets, because they were only written in wax.

Still there occurs this objection, Would the prætor who was to count them, and pass sentence according to the majority, admit of tablets with letters so defaced or obscured? A corrupt one, indeed, might, and interpret them the way he was inclined. But as Plutarch does not say *obscured*, but συγκεχυμενας *confused*, possibly he only meant that the judges, instead of putting tablets all marked with the same letter, put in several of each kind, in order to prevent the displeasure of the senate or the people from fixing upon any of them in particular.

* It was the government of the farther Spain only that fell to his lot. This province comprehended Lusitania and Bætica; that is, Portugal and Andalusia. Causabon supposed the word εκτος to have slipt out of the text between την and Ιβηριαν; but it is not a matter of importance enough to alter the text for it.

"many conquered countries, and I have not one glorious "achievement to boaſt?"

From this principle it was, that immediately upon his arrival in Spain he applied to buſineſs with great diligence, and having added ten new raiſed cohorts to the twenty he received there, he marched againſt the Callæcians * and Luſitanians, defeated them, and penetrated to the ocean, reducing nations by the way that had not felt the Roman yoke. His conduct in peace was not inferior to that in the war; he reſtored harmony among the cities, and removed the occaſions of quarrel between debtors and creditors. For he ordered that the creditor ſhould have two-thirds of the debtor's income, and the debtor the remaining third, till the whole was paid. By theſe means he left the province with great reputation, though he had filled his own coffers, and enriched his ſoldiers with booty, who, upon one of his victories, ſaluted him *Imperator*.

At his return he found himſelf under a troubleſome dilemma: Thoſe that ſolicit a triumph being obliged to remain without the walls, and ſuch as ſue for the conſulſhip, to make their perſonal appearance in Rome. As theſe were things that he could not reconcile, and his arrival happened at the time of the election of conſuls, he applied to the ſenate for permiſſion to ſtand candidate, though abſent, and offer his ſervice by his friends. Cato ſtrongly oppoſed his requeſt, inſiſting on the prohibition by law; and when he ſaw numbers influenced by Cæſar, he attempted to prevent his ſucceſs by gaining time; with which view he ſpun out the debate till it was too late to conclude upon any thing that day. Cæſar then determined to give up the triumph, and ſolicit the conſulſhip.

As ſoon as he had entered the city, he went to work upon an expedient which deceived all the world except Cato. It was the reconciling of Pompey and Craſſus, two of the moſt powerful men in Rome. By making them friends, Cæſar ſecured the intereſt of both to himſelf; and while he ſeemed to be only doing an office of humanity, he was undermining the conſtitution. For it was not, what moſt people imagine, the diſagreement between Cæſar and Pompey that produced the civil wars, but rather their

* In the text Καλλαϊκος. Cruſerius renders it *Gallæcos*; but, according to Cellarius, he is under a miſtake.

their union, they first combined to ruin the authority of the senate, and when that was effected, they parted to pursue each his own designs. Cato, who often prophesied what would be the consequence, was then looked upon as a troublesome and over-busy man; afterwards he was esteemed a wise, though not a fortunate counsellor.

Meantime Cæsar walked to the place of election between Crassus and Pompey; and, under the auspices of their friendship, was declared consul, with distinguished honour, having Calpurnius Bibulus given him for his colleague. He had no sooner entered upon his office, than he proposed laws not so suitable to a consul, as to a seditious tribune; I mean the bills for a division of lands and a distribution of corn, which were entirely calculated to please the plebeians. As the virtuous and patriotic part of the senate opposed them, he was furnished with the pretext he had long wanted: He protested with great warmth, "That "they threw him into the arms of the people against his "will, and that the rigorous and disgraceful opposition of "the senate, laid him under the disagreeable necessity of "seeking protection from the commons." Accordingly he did immediately apply to them.

Crassus planted himself on one side of him, and Pompey on the other. He demanded of them aloud, "Whether "they approved his laws?" and, as they answered in the affirmative, he desired their assistance against those who threatened to oppose them with the sword. They declared they would assist him; and Pompey added, "Against "those who come with the sword, I will bring both sword "and buckler." This expression gave the patricians great pain: It appeared not only unworthy of his character, the respect the senate had for him, and the reverence due to them, but even desperate and frantic. The people, however, were pleased with it.

Cæsar was willing to avail himself still farther of Pompey's interest. His daughter Julia was betrothed to Servilius Cæpio, but notwithstanding that engagement, he gave her to Pompey; and told Servilius he should have Pompey's daughter, whose hand was not properly at liberty, for she was promised to Faustus the son of Sylla.—Soon after this, Cæsar married Calpurnia, the daughter of Piso, and procured the consulship for Piso for the year ensuing. Meanwhile Cato exclaimed loudly against these proceedings,

proceedings, and called both gods and men to witness, how unsupportable it was, that the first dignities of the state should be prostituted by marriages, and that this traffic of women should gain them what governments and forces they pleased.

As for Bibulus, Cæsar's colleague, when he found his opposition to their new laws entirely unsuccessful, and that his life, as well as Cato's, was often endangered in the public assemblies, he shut himself up in his own house during the remainder of the year.

Immediately after this marriage, Pompey filled the *forum* with armed men, and got the laws enacted, which Cæsar had proposed merely to ingratiate himself with the people. At the same time the government of Gaul, both on this and the other side the Alps, was decreed to Cæsar for five years; to which was added Illyricum, with four legions. As Cato spoke against these regulations, Cæsar ordered him to be taken into custody, imagining he would appeal to the tribunes. But when he saw him going to prison without speaking one word, and observed that it not only gave the nobility great uneasiness, but that the people, out of reverence for Cato's virtue, followed him in melancholy silence, he whispered one of the tribunes to take him out of the *lictors'* hands.

Very few of the body of senators followed Cæsar on this occasion to the house. The greatest part, offended at such acts of tyranny, had withdrawn. Considius, one of the oldest senators that attended, taking occasion to observe, "That it was the soldiers and naked swords that kept the "rest from assembling," Cæsar said, "Why does not fear "keep you at home too?" Considius replied, "Old age "is my defence; the small remains of my life deserve not "much care or precaution."

The most disgraceful step, however, that Cæsar took in his whole consulship, was the getting Clodius elected tribune of the people; the same who had attempted to dishonour his bed, and had profaned the mysterious rites of the Good Goddess. He pitched upon him to ruin Cicero; nor would he set out for his government, before he had embroiled them, and procured Cicero's banishment. For history informs us, that all these transactions preceded his wars in Gaul. The wars he conducted there, and the many glorious campaigns in which he reduced that country,

represent-

represent him as another man: We begin, as it were, with a new life, and have to follow him in a quite different track. As a warrior and a general, we behold him not in the least inferior to the greatest and most admired commanders the world ever produced. For whether we compare him with the Fabii, the Scipios, and Metelli, with the generals of his own time, or those who flourished a little before him, with Sylla, Marius, the two Luculli, or with Pompey himself, whose fame in every military excellence reached the skies, Cæsar's achievements bear away the palm. One he surpassed in the difficulty of the scene of action, another in the extent of the countries he subdued; this, in the number and strength of the enemies he overcame, that, in the savage manners and treacherous disposition of the people he humanized; one, in mildness and clemency to his prisoners, another, in bounty and munificence to his troops; and all, in the number of battles that he won, and enemies that he killed. For in less than ten years war in Gaul, he took eight hundred cities by assault, conquered three hundred nations, and fought pitched battles at different times with three millions of men, one million of which he cut in pieces, and made another million prisoners.

Such, moreover, was the affection of his soldiers, and their attachment to his person, that they who under other commanders were nothing above the common rate of men, became invincible where Cæsar's glory was concerned, and met the most dreadful dangers with a courage that nothing could resist. To give three or four instances:

Acilius, in a sea-fight near Marseilles, after he had boarded one of the enemy's ships, had his right-hand cut off with a sword, yet he still held his buckler in his left, and pushed it in the enemy's faces, till he defeated them, and took the vessel.

Cassius Scæva, in the battle of Dyrrhachium, after he had an eye shot out with an arrow, his shoulder wounded with one javelin, his thigh run through with another, and had received a hundred and thirty darts upon his shield *, called

* Cæsar (Bell. Civ. l. iii.) says, this brave soldier received two hundred and thirty darts upon his shield, and adds, that he rewarded his bravery with two hundred thousand sesterces, and promoted him from the eighth rank to the first. He likewise ordered the soldiers of that cohort double pay, beside other military rewards.

called out to the enemy, as if he would ſurrender himſelf. Upon this, two of them came up to him, and he gave one of them ſuch a ſtroke upon the ſhoulder with his ſword that the arm dropt off; the other he wounded in the face, and made him retire. His comrades then came up to his aſſiſtance, and he ſaved his life.

In Britain, ſome of the vanguard happened to be entangled in a deep moraſs, and were there attacked by the enemy, when a private ſoldier, in the ſight of Cæſar, threw himſelf into the midſt of the aſſailants, and after prodigious exertions of valour, beat off the barbarians, and reſcued the men. After which, the ſoldier with much difficulty, partly by ſwimming, partly by wading, paſſed the moraſs, but in the paſſage loſt his ſhield. Cæſar, and thoſe about him, aſtoniſhed at the action, ran to meet him with acclamations of joy; but the ſoldier, in great diſtreſs, threw himſelf at Cæſar's feet, and with tears in his eyes begged pardon for the loſs of his ſhield.

In Africa, Scipio having taken one of Cæſar's ſhips, on board of which was Granius Petronius, lately appointed quæſtor, put the reſt to the ſword, but told the quæſtor, "He gave him his life." Petronius anſwered, "It is "not the cuſtom of Cæſar's ſoldiers to take but to give "quarter," and immediately plunged his ſword in his breaſt.

This courage, and this great ambition, were cultivated and cheriſhed, in the firſt place, by the generous manner in which Cæſar rewarded his troops, and the honours which he paid them. For his whole conduct ſhewed, that he did not accumulate riches in the courſe of his wars, to miniſter to luxury, or to ſerve any pleaſures of his own, but that he laid them up in a common bank, as prizes to be obtained by diſtinguiſhed valour, and that he conſidered himſelf no farther rich, than as he was in a condition to do juſtice to the merit of his ſoldiers. Another thing that contributed to make them invincible, was their ſeeing Cæſar always take his ſhare in danger, and never deſire any exemption from labour and fatigue.

As for his expoſing his perſon to danger, they were not ſurprized at it, becauſe they knew his paſſion for glory; but they were aſtoniſhed at his patience under toil, ſo far in all appearance above his bodily powers. For he was of a ſlender make, fair, of a delicate conſtitution, and

ſubject to violent head-achs and epileptic fits. He had the firſt attack of the falling ſickneſs at Corduba. He did not, however, make theſe diſorders a pretence for indulging himſelf. On the contrary, he ſought in war a remedy for his infirmities, endeavouring to ſtrengthen his conſtitution by long marches, by ſimple diet, by ſeldom coming under covert. Thus he contended with his diſtemper, and fortified himſelf againſt its attacks.

When he ſlept it was commonly upon a march, either in a chariot or a litter, that reſt might be no hinderance to buſineſs. In the day-time he viſited the caſtles, cities, and fortified camps, with a ſervant at his ſide, whom he employed, on ſuch occaſions, to write for him, and with a ſoldier behind, who carried his ſword. By theſe means he travelled ſo faſt, and with ſo little interruption, as to reach the Rhone in eight days after his firſt ſetting out for thoſe parts from Rome.

He was a good horſeman in his early years, and brought that exerciſe to ſuch perfection by practice, that he could ſit a horſe at full ſpeed with his hands behind him. In this expedition he alſo accuſtomed himſelf to dictate letters as he rode on horſeback, and found ſufficient employment for two ſecretaries at once, or, according to Oppius, for more. It is alſo ſaid that Cæſar was the firſt who contrived to communicate his thoughts by letter to his friends, who were in the ſame city with him, when any urgent affair required it, and the multitude of buſineſs or great extent of the city did not admit of an interview.

Of his indifference with reſpect to diet they give us this remarkable proof. Happening to ſup with Valerius Leo, a friend of his, at Milan, there was ſweet ointment poured upon the aſparagus, inſtead of oil. Cæſar eat of it freely notwithſtanding, and afterwards rebuked his friends for expreſſing their diſlike of it. "It was enough," ſaid he, "to forbear eating, if it was diſagreeable to you. He "who finds fault with any ruſticity, is himſelf a ruſtic."

One day, as he was upon an excurſion, a violent ſtorm forced him to ſeek ſhelter in a poor man's hut, where there was only one room, and that ſcarce big enough for a man to ſleep in. Turning, therefore, to his friends, he ſaid, "Honours for the great, and neceſſaries for the "infirm," and immediatly gave up the room to Oppius, while

while himself and the rest of the company slept under a shed at the door.

His first expedition in Gaul was against the Helvetians and the Tigurini; who, after having burnt twelve of their own towns and four hundred villages, put themselves under march, in order to penetrate into Italy, through that part of Gaul which was subject to the Romans, as the Cimbri and Teutones would have done before them. Nor were these new adventurers inferior to the other in courage; and in numbers they were equal; being in all three hundred thousand, of which a hundred and ninety thousand were fighting men. Cæsar sent his lieutenant, Labienus, against the Tigurini, who routed them near the river Arar. But the Helvetians suddenly attacked Cæsar, as he was upon the march to a confederate town†. He gained, however, a strong post for his troops, notwithstanding the surprize; and when he had drawn them up, his horse was brought him. Upon which he said, "When I have won "the battle I shall want my horse for the pursuit; at pre-"sent let us march, as we are, against the enemy." Accordingly he charged them with great vigour on foot‡.

It cost him a long and severe conflict to drive their army out of the field; but he found the greatest difficulty when he came to their rampart of carriages; for not only the men made a most obstinate stand there, but the very women and children fought till they were cut in pieces; insomuch that the battle did not end before midnight.

To this great action he added a still greater. He collected the barbarians who had escaped out of the battle, to the number of an hundred thousand, and upwards, and obliged them to resettle the country they had reliquished, and to rebuild the cities they had burnt. This he did, in fear that if the country were left without inhabitants, the Germans would pass the Rhine, and seize it.

His

* Cæsar says himself, that he left Labienus to guard the works he had raised from the Lake of Geneva to Mount Jura, and that he marched in person, at the head of three legions, to attack the Tigurni in their passage over the Arar, now the Saone, and killed great numbers of them.

† Bibracte, now Autun.

‡ He sent back his horse, and the rest followed his example. This he did to prevent all hopes of a retreat, as well as to shew his troops that he would take his share in all the danger. Vide Bell. Gall. lib. i.

His ſecond war was in defence of the Gauls againſt the Germans, though he had before honoured their king Arioviſtus with the title of an ally of Rome. They proved inſupportable neighbours to thoſe he had ſubdued, and it was eaſy to ſee, that inſtead of being ſatisfied with their preſent acquiſitions, if opportunity offered, they would extend their conqueſts over all Gaul. He found, however, his officers, particularly thoſe of the young nobility, afraid of this expedition; for they had entered into Cæſar's ſervice only in hopes of living luxuriouſly, and making their fortunes. He therefore called them together, and told them, before the whole army, "That they were at liberty "to retire, and needed not hazard their perſons againſt "their inclination, ſince they were ſo unmanly and ſpiritleſs. For his part, he would march with the tenth "legion only againſt thoſe barbarians; for they were neither better men than the Cimbrians, nor was he a worſe "general than Marius." Upon this the tenth legion deputed ſome of their corps to thank him. The other legions laid the whole blame upon their officers, and all followed him with great ſpirit and alacrity. After a march of ſeveral days, they encamped within two hundred furlongs of the enemy.

Cæſar's arrival broke the confidence of Arioviſtus. Inſtead of expecting that the Romans would come and attack him, he had ſuppoſed they would not dare to ſtand the Germans, when they went in queſt of them. He was much ſurprized, therefore, at this bold attempt of Cæſar, and, what was worſe, he ſaw his own troops were diſheartened. They were diſpirited ſtill more by the prophecies of their matrons who had the care of divining, and uſed to do it by the eddies of rivers, the windings, the murmurs, or other noiſe made by the ſtream. On this occaſion they charged the army not to give battle before the new moon appeared.

Cæſar having got information of theſe matters, and ſeeing the Germans lie cloſe in their camp, thought it better

* The Ædui implored his protection againſt Arioviſtus, king of the Germans, who, taking advantage of the differences which had long ſubſiſted between them and the Arverni, had joined the latter, made himſelf maſter of great part of the country of the Sequani, and obliged the Ædui to give him their children as hoſtages. The Ædui were the people of Autun; the Averni of Auvergne; and the Sequani of Franche Comte. Cæs. Bell. Gall. lib. i.

better to engage them while thus dejected, than to ſit ſtill and wait their time. For this reaſon he attacked their entrenchments and the hills upon which they were poſted; which provoked them to ſuch a degree, that they deſcended in great fury to the plain. They fought, and were entirely routed. Cæſar purſued them to the Rhine, which was three hundred furlongs from the field of battle*, covering all the way with dead bodies and ſpoils. Arioviſtus reached the river time enough to get over with a few troops. The number of killed is ſaid to have amounted to eighty thouſand.

After he had thus terminated the war, he left his army in winter-quarters in the country of the Sequani, and repaired to Gaul, on this ſide the Po, which was part of his province, in order to have an eye upon the tranſactions in Rome. For the river Rubicon parts the reſt of Italy from Ciſalpine Gaul. During his ſtay there, he carried on a variety of ſtate-intrigues. Great numbers came from Rome to pay their reſpects to him, and he ſent them all away ſatisfied; ſome laden with preſents, and others happy in hope. In the ſame manner throughout all his wars, without Pompey's obſerving it, he was conquering his enemies by the arms of the Roman citizens, and gaining the citizens by the money of his enemies.

As ſoon as he had intelligence that the Belgæ, who were the moſt powerful people in Gaul, and whoſe territories made up a third part of the whole country, had revolted and aſſembled a great army, he marched to that quarter with incredible expedition. He found them ravaging the lands of thoſe Gauls who were allies of Rome, defeated the main body, which made but a feeble reſiſtance, and killed ſuch nuwbers, that lakes and rivers were filled with the dead, and bridges were formed of their bodies. Such of the inſurgents as dwelt upon the ſeacoaſt, ſurrendered without oppoſition.

From thence he led his army againſt the Nervii †, who live among thick woods. After they had ſecured their families and moſt valuable goods, in the beſt manner they could, in the heart of a large foreſt, at a great diſtance from the enemy, they marched, to the number of ſixty thou-

* Cæſar ſays, it was only five miles from the field of battle; therefore, inſtead of τριακοσιες, we ſhould read τεσσαρακοντα.

† Their country is now called Hainault and Cambreſis.

thousand, and fell upon Cæsar, as he was fortifying his camp, and had not the least notion of so such an attack *. They first routed his cavalry, and then surrounded the twelfth and seventh legions, and killed all the officers. Had not Cæsar snatched a buckler from one of his own men, forced his way through the combatants before him, and rushed upon the barbarians; or had not the tenth legion †, seeing his danger, run from the heights where they were posted, and mowed down the enemy's ranks, in all probability not one Roman would have survived the battle. But though encouraged by this bold act of Cæsar, they fought with a spirit above their strength, they were not able to make the Nervii turn their backs. Those brave men maintained their ground, and were hewed to pieces upon the spot. It is said that out of sixty thousand not above five hundred were saved, and out of four hundred Nervian senators not above three.

Upon the news of this great victory, the senate of Rome decreed that sacrifices should be offered, and all manner of festivities kept up, for fifteen days together, which was a longer term of rejoicing than had ever been known before. Indeed, the danger appeared very great, on account of so many nations rising at once; and as Cæsar

* As this attack was unexpected, Cæsar had, in a manner, every thing to do at the same instant. The banner was to be erected, the charge sounded, the soldiers at a distance recalled, the army drawn up, and the signal given. In this surprize he ran from place to place, exhorting his men to remember their former valour; and having drawn them up in the best manner he could, caused the signal to be given. The legionaries made a vigorous resistance; but as the enemy seemed determined either to conquer or die, the success was different in different places. In the left wing the ninth and the tenth legions did wonders, drove the Atrebates into a neighbouring river, and made a great slaughter of them. In another place the eight and eleventh legions repulsed the Vermandui, and drove them before them. But in the right wing the seventh and twelfth legions suffered extremely. They were entirely surrounded by the Nervii, all the centurions of the fourth cohort being slain, and most of the other officers wounded. In this extremity, Cæsar snatched a buckler from one of the private men, put himself at the head of his broken wing, and being joined by the two legions which he had left to guard the baggage, fell upon the Nervii, already fatigued, with fresh vigour, and made a dreadful havoc of them.

† In the original it is the twelfth; but it appears from the second book of Cæsar's Commentaries, that we should read here δέκατον, not δωδέκατον. Indeed the Paris manuscript has δέκατον.

Cæſar was the man who ſurmounted it, the affection the people had for him made the rejoicing more brilliant. After he had ſettled the affairs of Gaul, on the other ſide the Alps, he croſſed them again, and wintered near the Po, in order to maintain his intereſt in Rome; where the candidates for the great offices of ſtate were ſupplied with money out of his funds to corrupt the people, and after they had carried their election, did every thing to extend his power. Nay, the greateſt and moſt illuſtrious perſonages went to pay their court to him at Lucca, among whom were Pompey, Craſſus, Appius, governor of Sardinia, and Nepos, proconſul in Spain. So that there were a hundred and twenty lictors attending their maſters, and above two hundred ſenators honoured him with their aſſiduities. After they had fixed upon a plan of buſineſs, they parted. Pompey and Craſſus were to be conſuls the year enſuing, and to get Cæſar's government prolonged for five years more, with ſupplies out of the treaſury for his occaſions. The laſt particular appeared extremely abſurd to all men of ſenſe. They who received ſo much of Cæſar's money, perſuaded the ſenate to give him money, as if he was in want of it; or rather, they inſiſted it ſhould be done, and every honeſt man ſighed inwardly while he ſuffered the decree to paſs. Cato, indeed, was abſent, having been ſent with a commiſſion to Cyprus on purpoſe that he might be out of the way. But Favonius, who trod in Cato's ſteps, vigorouſly oppoſed thoſe meaſures; and when he found that his oppoſition availed nothing, he left the houſe, and applied to the people, exclaiming againſt ſuch pernicious counſels. No one, however, attended to him; ſome being over-awed by Pompey and Craſſus, and others influenced by regard for Cæſar, in whoſe ſmile alone they lived and all their hopes flouriſhed.

Cæſar, at his return to his army in Gaul, found another furious war lighted up in the country; the Uſipetes and the Teuchteri*, two great German nations, having croſſed the

* The people of the *March* and of Weſtphalia, and thoſe of Munſter and Cleves.

This war happened under the conſulſhip of Craſſus and Pompey, which was in the year of Rome 6[illegible]. But there were ſeveral intermediate tranſactions of great importance, which Plutarch has omitted, viz. The reduction of the Advatici by Cæſar; of ſeven other nations by P. Craſſus, the ſon of the triumvir; offers of ſubmiſſion from ſeveral

the Rhine to make conqueſts. The account of the affair with them we ſhall take from Cæſar's own Commentaries*. Theſe barbarians ſent deputies to him to propoſe a ſuſpenſion of arms, which was granted them. Nevertheleſs they attacked him as he was making an excurſion. With only eight hundred horſe, however, who were not prepared for an engagement, he beat their cavalry, which conſiſted of five thouſand. Next day they ſent other deputies to apologize for what had happened, but without any other intention than that of deceiving him again. Theſe agents of theirs he detained, and marched immediately againſt them; thinking it abſurd to ſtand upon honour with ſuch perfidious men, who had not ſcrupled to violate the truce. Yet Canuſius writes, that when the ſenate were voting a public thankſgiving and proceſſions on account of the victory, Cato propoſed that Cæſar ſhould be delivered up to the barbarians, to expiate that breach of faith, and make the divine vengeance fall upon its author, rather than upon Rome.

Of the barbarians that had paſſed the Rhine, there were four hundred thouſand killed. The few who eſcaped, repaſſed the river, and were ſheltered by a people of Germany called Sicambri. Cæſar laid hold on this pretence againſt that people, but his true motive was an avidity of fame, to be the firſt Roman that ever croſſed the Rhine in an hoſtile manner. In purſuance of his deſign, he threw a bridge over it, though it was remarkably wide in that place, and at the ſame time ſo rough and rapid, that it carried down with it trunks of trees, and other timber, which much ſhocked and weakened the pillars of his bridge. But he drove great piles of wood into the bottom of the river above the bridge, both to reſiſt the impreſſion of ſuch bodies, and to break the force of the torrent. By theſe means he exhibited a ſpectacle aſtoniſhing to thought, ſo immenſe a bridge finiſhed in ten days. His army paſſed over it without oppoſition, the Suevi and the Sicambri, the moſt warlike nations in Germany, having retired into

the

ral nations beyond the Rhine; the attempt upon Galba in his winter quarters at Octodurus, and his brave defence and victory; the ſevere chaſtiſement of the Veneti, who had revolted; and the complete reduction of Aquitaine. Theſe particulars are contained in part of the ſecond and the whole third book of the war in Gaul.

* Ruauld juſtly obſerves, that Plutarch ſhould not have called the Commentaries ἐφημεριδες, as he does here, but ὑπομνηματα, as uſua

the heart of their foreſts, and concealed themſelves in cavities overhung with wood. He laid waſte the enemy's country with fire, and confirmed the better diſpoſed Germans in the intereſt of Rome *; after which he returned into Gaul, having ſpent no more than eighteen days in Germany,

But his expedition into Britain diſcovered the moſt daring ſpirit of enterprize. For he was the firſt who entered the weſtern ocean with a fleet, and embarking his troops on the Atlantic, carried war into an iſland whoſe very exiſtence was doubted. Some writers had repreſented it ſo incredibly large, that others conteſted its being, and conſidered both the name and the thing as a fiction. Yet Cæſar attempted to conquer it, and to extend the Roman empire beyond the bounds of the habitable world. He ſailed thither twice from the oppoſite coaſt in Gaul, and fought many battles, by which the Britons ſuffered more than the Romans gained; for there was nothing worth taking from a people who were ſo poor, and lived in ſo much wretchedneſs †. He did not, however, terminate the war in the manner he could have wiſhed: he only received hoſtages of the king, and appointed the tribute the iſland was to pay, and then returned to Gaul.

There he received letters, which were going to be ſent over to him, and by which his friends in Rome informed him, that his daughter, the wife of Pompey, had lately died in child-bed. This was a great affliction both to Pompey and Cæſar. Their friends; too, were very ſenſibly concerned to ſee that alliance diſſolved which kept up the peace and harmony of the ſtate, otherwiſe in a very unſettled condition. For the child ſurvived the mother only a few days. The people took the body of Julia, and carried it, notwithſtanding the prohibition of the tribunes, to the *Campus Martius*, where it was interred.

As Cæſar's army was now very large ‡, he was forced to divide it for the convenience of winter-quarters; after which

* The Ubii, the people of Cologne.

† It does not appear that there was much corn in Britain in Cæſar's time; for the inhabitants, he ſays, lived chiefly on milk and fleſh. *Lacte et carne vivunt.*

‡ This army conſiſted of eight legions; and as there was almoſt a famine in the country, the conſequence of exceſſive drought, Cæſar was obliged to ſeparate his troops for their better ſubſiſtence. He was there-
fore

which he took the road to Italy, according to cuſtom. But he had not been long gone, before the Gauls riſing again, traverſed the country with conſiderable armies, fell upon the Roman quarters with great fury, and inſulted their entrenchments. The moſt numerous and the ſtrongeſt body of the inſurgents was that under Ambiorix, who attacked Cotta and Titurius in their camp, and cut them off with their whole party. After which, he went and beſieged the legion under the command of Q. Cicero, with ſixty thouſand men; and though the ſpirit of thoſe brave Romans made a reſiſtance above their ſtrength, they were very near being taken, for they were all wounded.

Cæſar, who was at a great diſtance, at laſt getting intelligence of their danger, returned with all expedition; and having collected a body of men, which did not exceed ſeven thouſand, haſtened to the relief of Cicero. The Gauls, who were not ignorant of his motions, raiſed the ſiege, and went to meet him; for they deſpiſed the ſmallneſs of his force, and were confident of victory. Cæſar, to deceive them, made a feint as if he fled, till he came to a place convenient for a ſmall army to engage a great one, and there he fortified his camp. He gave his men ſtrict orders not to fight, but to throw up a ſtrong rampart, and to barricade their gates in the ſecureſt manner; contriving by all theſe manœuvres to increaſe the enemy's contempt of him. It ſucceeded as he wiſhed; the Gauls came up with great inſolence and diſorder to attack his trenches. Then Cæſar making a ſudden ſally, defeated and deſtroyed the greateſt part of them. This ſucceſs laid the ſpirit of revolt in thoſe parts; and for farther ſecurity he remained all the winter in Gaul, viſiting all the quarters, and keeping a ſharp eye upon every motion towards war. Beſides, he received a reinforcement of three legions in the room of thoſe he had loſt; two of which were lent him by Pompey, and one lately raiſed in Ciſalpine Gaul.

After this*, the ſeeds of hoſtilities, which had long before been privately ſcattered in the more diſtant parts of the

fore under the neceſſity of fixing the quarters at ſuch a diſtance, which would otherwiſe have been impolitic. He tells us, (lib. v.) that all the legions, except one, which was in a quiet country, were poſted within the compaſs of a hundred miles.

* Plutarch paſſes over the whole ſixth book of Cæſar's Commentaries, as he had done the third. Many conſiderable events happened between the

the country, by the chiefs of the more warlike nations, ſhot-up into one of the greateſt and moſt dangerous wars that was ever ſeen in Gaul; whether we conſider the number of troops and ſtore of arms, the treaſures amaſſed for the war, or the ſtrength of the towns and faſtneſſes they occupied. Beſides, it was then the moſt ſevere ſeaſon of the year; the rivers were covered with ice, the foreſts with ſnow, and the fields overflowed in ſuch a manner that they looked like ſo many ponds; the roads lay concealed in ſnow; or in floods diſembogued by the lakes and rivers. So that it ſeemed impoſſible for Cæſar to march, or to purſue any other operations againſt them.

Many nations had entered into the league; the principal of which were the Arverni * and Carnutes †. The chief direction of the war was given to Vercingetorix, whoſe father the Gauls had put to death, for attempting at monarchy. Vercingetorix having divided his forces into ſeveral parts, and given them in charge to his lieutenants, had the country at command as far as the Arar. His intention was to raiſe all Gaul againſt Cæſar, now when his enemies were riſing againſt him at Rome. But had he ſtayed a little longer till Cæſar was actually engaged in the civil war, the terrors of the Gauls would not have been leſs dreadful to Italy now, than thoſe of the Cimbri were formerly.

Cæſar, who knew perfectly how to avail himſelf of every advantage in war, particularly of time, was no ſooner informed of this great defection, than he ſet out to chaſtiſe its authors; and by the ſwiftneſs of his march, in ſpite of all the difficulties of a ſevere winter, he ſhewed the barbarians that his troops could neither be conquered nor reſiſted. For where a courier could ſcarce have been ſuppoſed to come in many days, Cæſar was ſeen with his whole army, ravaging the country, deſtroying the caſtles, ſtorming the cities, and receiving the ſubmiſſion of ſuch as repented. Thus he went on, till the Edui ‡ alſo revolted, who had ſtyled themſelves brothers to the Romans, and had been

the victory laſt mentioned, and the affair with Vercingetorix; ſuch as the defeat of the Treviri, Cæſar's ſecond paſſage over the Rhine, and the purſuit of Ambiorix.

* The people of Auvergne, particularly thoſe of Clermont and St. Flour.

† The people of Chartres and Orleans.

‡ The people of Autun, Lyons, Macon, Chalons upon Sone, and Nevers.

been treated with particular regard. Their joining the insurgents spread uneasiness and dismay through Cæsar's army. He, therefore, decamped in all haste, and traversed the country of the Lingones *, in order to come into that of the Sequani †, who were fast friends, and nearer to Italy than the rest of the Gauls.

The enemy followed him thither in prodigious numbers, and surrounded him. Cæsar, without being in the least disconcerted, sustained the conflict, and after a long and bloody action, in which the Germans were particularly serviceable to him, gave them a total defeat ‡. But he seems to have received some check at first, for the Arverni still shew a sword suspended in one of their temples, which they declare was taken from Cæsar. His friends pointed it out to him afterwards, but he only laughed; and when they were for having it taken down, he would not suffer it, because he considered it as a thing consecrated to the gods

Most of those who escaped out of the battle, retired into Alesia || with their king. Cæsar immediately invested the town, though it appeared impregnable, as well on account of the height of the walls, as the number of troops there was to defend it. During the siege he found himself exposed to a danger from without, which makes imagination giddy to think on. All the bravest men in Gaul assembled from every quarter, and came armed to the relief of the place, to the number of three hundred thousand; and there were not less than seventy thousand combatants within the walls. Thus shut up between two armies, he was forced to draw two lines of circumvallation, the interior one against the town, and that without against the troops that came to its succour; for, could the two armies have joined, he had been absolutely lost. This dangerous action at Alesia contributed to Cæsar's renown on many accounts. Indeed, he exerted a more adventurous courage and greater generalship, than on any other occasion. But what seems very astonishing, is, that he could engage and conquer so many myriads without, and keep the action a secret

* The district of Langres.

† The district of Besançon.

‡ This passage in the original is corrupt or defective. We have endeavoured to supply that defect, by reading, with M. Dacier, Γερμανοις, instead of αλλοις; which is agreeable to Cæsar's own account of the battle, in the seventh book of his Commentaries.

|| Cæsar calls it Alexia, now Alise, near Flavigny.

ſecret to the troops in the town*. It is ſtill more wonderful that the Romans, who were left before the walls, ſhould not know it, till the victory was announced by the cries of the men in Aleſia and the lamentations of the women, who ſaw the Romans on each ſide of the town bringing to their camp a number of ſhields adorned with gold and ſilver, helmets ſtained with blood, drinking veſſels, and tents of the Gauliſh faſhion. Thus did this vaſt multitude vaniſh and diſappear like a phantom, or a dream, the greateſt part being killed on the ſpot.

The beſieged, after having given both themſelves and Cæſar much trouble, at laſt ſurrendered. Their general, Vercingetorix, armed himſelf and equipped his horſe in the moſt magnificent manner, and then ſallied out at the gate. After he had taken ſome circuits about Cæſar as he ſat upon the tribunal, he diſmounted, put off his armour, aud placed himſelf at Cæſar's feet, where he remained in profound ſilence, till Cæſar ordered a guard to take him away, and keep him for his triumph.

Cæſar had been ſome time reſolved to ruin Pompey, and Pompey to deſtroy Cæſar. For Craſſus who alone could have taken up the conqueror, being killed in the Parthian war, there remained nothing for Cæſar to do, to make himſelf the greateſt of mankind, but to annihilate him that was ſo; nor for Pompey to prevent it, but to take off the man he feared. It is true, it was no long time that Pompey had entertained any fear of him; he had rather looked upon him with contempt, imagining he could as eaſily pull him down as he had ſet him up: Whereas Cæſar, from the firſt, deſigning to ruin his rivals, had retired at a diſtance, like a champion, for exerciſe. By long ſervice and great achievements in the wars of Gaul, he had ſo improved his army, and his own reputation too, that he was conſidered as on a footing with Pompey; and he found pretences for carrying his enterprize into execution, in the times of the miſgovernment at Rome. Theſe were partly furniſhed by Pompey himſelf: and indeed all ranks of men were ſo corrupted, that tables were publicly ſet out, upon which the candidates for offices were profeſſedly ready to pay the people the price of their votes; and the people came not only to give their voices for the man who had bought them, but with all manner of offenſive

* Cæſar ſays, that thoſe in the town had a diſtinct view of the battle.

ſive weapons to fight for him. Hence it often happened, that they did not part without polluting the tribunal with blood and murder, and the city was a perpetual ſcene of anarchy. In this diſmal ſituation of things, in theſe ſtorms of epidemic madneſs, wiſe men thought it would be happy if they ended in nothing worſe than monarchy. Nay, there were many who ſcrupled not to declare publicly, that monarchy was the only cure for the deſperate diſorders of the ſtate, and that the phyſician ought to be pitched upon, who would apply that remedy with the gentleſt hand; by which they hinted at Pompey.

Pompey, in all his diſcourſe, pretended to decline the honour of a dictatorſhip, though at the ſame time every ſtep he took was directed that way. Cato, underſtanding his drift, perſuaded the ſenate to declare him ſole conſul; that, ſatisfied with a kind of monarchy more agreeable to law, he might not adopt any violent meaſures to make himſelf dictator. The ſenate not only agreed to this, but continued to him his governments of Spain and Africa, the adminiſtration of which he committed to his lieutenants; keeping armies there, for whoſe maintenance he was allowed a thouſand talents a-year out of the public treaſury.

Upon this, Cæſar applied, by his friends, for another conſulſhip, and for the continuance of his commiſſion in Gaul, anſwerable to that of Pompey. As Pompey was at firſt ſilent, Marcellus and Lentulus, who hated Cæſar on other accounts, oppoſed it with great violence, omitting nothing, whether right or wrong, that might reflect diſhonour upou him. For they disfranchiſed the inhabitants of Novocomum in Gaul, which had lately been erected into a colony by Cæſar; and Marcellus then conſul, cauſed one of their ſenators, who was come with ſome complaints to Rome, to be beaten with rods, and telling him, "The marks on his back were ſo many additional "proofs that he was not a Roman citizen," bade him go ſhew them to Cæſar.

But, after the conſulſhip of Marcellus, Cæſar opened the treaſures he had amaſſed in Gaul, to all that were concerned in the adminiſtration, and ſatisfied their utmoſt wiſhes; he paid off the vaſt debts of Curio the tribune; he preſented the conſul Paulus with fifteen hundred talents, which he employed in building the celebrated public hall near the *forum*, in the place where that of Fulvius had ſtood.

ſtood. Pompey now alarmed at the increaſe of Cæſar's faction, openly exerted his own intereſt, and that of his friends, to procure an order for a ſucceſſor to Cæſar in Gaul. He alſo ſent to demand the troops he had lent him, for his wars in that country, and Cæſar returned them with a gratuity of two hundred and fifty drachmas to each man.

Thoſe who conducted theſe troops back, ſpread reports among the people which were neither favourable nor fair with reſpect to Cæſar, and which ruined Pompey with vain hopes. They aſſerted that Pompey had the hearts of all Cæſar's army, and that if envy and a corrupt administration hindered him from gaining what he deſired at Rome, the forces in Gaul were at his ſervice, and would declare for him immediately upon their entering Italy; ſo obnoxious was Cæſar become, by hurrying them perpetually from one expedition to another, and by the ſuſpicions they had of his aiming at abſolute power.

Pompey was ſo much elated with theſe aſſurances, that he neglected to levy troops, as if he had nothing to fear, and oppoſed his enemy only with ſpeeches and decrees, which Cæſar made no account of. Nay, we are told, that a centurion whom Cæſar had ſent to Rome, waiting at the door of the ſenate-houſe for the reſult of the deliberations, and being informed that the ſenate would not give Cæſar a longer term in his commiſſion, laid his hand upon his ſword, and ſaid, "But this ſhall give it."

Indeed, Cæſar's requiſitions had a great appearance of juſtice and honour. He propoſed to lay down his arms, on condition Pompey would do the ſame, and that they ſhould both, as private citizens, leave it to their country to reward their ſervices. For to deprive him of his commiſſion and troops, and continue Pompey's was to give abſolute power to the one, to which the other was unjuſtly accuſed of aſpiring. Curio, who made theſe propoſitions to the people in behalf of Cæſar, was received with the loudeſt plaudits; and there were ſome who even threw chaplets of flowers upon him, as they would upon a champion victorious in the ring.

Antony, one of the tribunes of the people, then produced a letter from Cæſar to the ſame purport, and cauſed it to be read, notwithſtanding the oppoſition it met with from the conſuls*. Hereupon, Scipio, Pompey's father-

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* Inſtead of δια των ὑπατων ome MSS. give us βια των ὑπατων.

in-law, proposed in the senate, that if Cæsar did not lay down his arms by such a day, he should be declared an enemy to the state; and the consuls putting it to the question, "Whether Pompey should dismiss his forces? and again, "Whether Cæsar should disband his?" few of the members were for the first, and almost all for the second*. After which Antony put the question, "Whether both should lay down their commissions?" and all with one voice answered in the affirmative. But the violent rage of Scipio, and the clamours of the consul Lentulus, who cried out, that "Not decrees but arms should "be employed against a public robber," made the senate break up; and on account of the unhappy dissension, all ranks of people put on black, as in a time of public mourning.

Soon after this, other letters arrived from Cæsar with more moderate proposals. He offered to abandon all the rest, provided they would continue to him the government of Cisalpine Gaul and Illyricum, with two legions, till he could apply for a second consulship. And Cicero, who was lately returned from Cilicia, and very desirous of effecting a reconciliation, used all possible means to soften Pompey. Pompey agreed to all but the article of the two legions; and Cicero endeavoured to accomodate the matter, by persuading Cæsar's friends to be satisfied with the two provinces and six thousand soldiers only. Pompey was on the point of accepting the compromise, when Lentulus the consul rejecting it with disdain, treated Antony and Curio with great indignity, and drove them out of the senate-house. Thus he furnished Cæsar with the most plausible argument imaginable, and he failed not to make use of it to exasperate his troops, by shewing them persons of distinction, and magistrates, obliged to fly in hired carriages, and in the habit of slaves†; for their fears had made them leave Rome in that disguise.

Cæsar had not then with him above three hundred horse and five thousand foot. The rest of his forces were left on the other side of the Alps, and he had sent them orders to join him. But he saw the beginning of his enterprize, and

* Dio says, there was not a man for the first question, whereas the whole house was for the second, except Cælius and Curio. Nor is this to be wondered at; Pompey was then at the gates of Rome with his army.

† Cassius Longinus went with them in the same disguise.

and the attack he meditated did not require any great numbers: His enemies were rather to be ſtruck with conſternation by the boldneſs and expedition with which he began his operations; for an unexpected movement would be more likely to make an impreſſion upon them then, than great preparations afterwards. He, therefore, ordered his lieutenants and other officers to take their ſwords without any other armour, and make themſelves maſters of Ariminum, a great city in Gaul, but to take all poſſible care that no blood ſhould be ſhed or diſturbance raiſed. Hortenſius was at the head of this party. As for himſelf, he ſpent the day at a public ſhew of gladiators; and a little before evening bathed, and then went into the apartment where he entertained company. When it was growing dark, he left the company, after having deſired them to make merry till his return, which they would not have long to wait for. To ſome of his friends he had given previous notice to follow him, not all together, but by different ways. Then taking a hired carriage, he ſet out a different way from that which led to Ariminum, and turned into that road afterwards.

When he arrived at the banks of the Rubicon, which divides Ciſalpine Gaul from the reſt of Italy, his reflections became more intereſting in proportion as the danger drew near. Staggered by the greatneſs of his attempt, he ſtopped, to weigh with himſelf its inconveniences; and, as he ſtood revolving in ſilence the arguments on both ſides, he many times changed his opinion. After which, he deliberated upon it with ſuch of his friends as were by, among whom was Aſinius Pollio; enumerating the calamities which the paſſage of that river would bring upon the world, and the reflections that might be made upon it by poſterity. At laſt, upon ſome ſudden impulſe, bidding adieu to his reaſonings, and plunging into the abyſs of futurity, in the words of thoſe who embark in doubtful and arduous euterprizes, he cried out, "The "die is caſt!" and immediately paſſed the river. He travelled ſo faſt the reſt of the way, that he reached Ariminum before day-light, and took it. It is ſaid, that the preceding night he had a moſt abominable dream; he thought he lay with his mother.

After the taking of Ariminum, as if war had opened wide its gates both by ſea and land, and Cæſar, by going beyond the bounds of his province, had infringed the laws

laws of his country; not individuals were seen, as on other occasions, wandering in distraction about Italy, but whole cities broken up, and seeking refuge by flight. Most of the tumultuous tide flowed into Rome, and it was so filled with the hasty conflux of the circling people, that amidst the violent agitation it would hardly either obey the magistrate, or listen to the voice of reason, but was in the utmost danger of falling by its own violence. For the whole was a prey to contrary passions, and the most violent convulsions: Those who favoured these disorders were not satisfied with enjoying them in private, but reproached the other party, amidst their fears and sorrows, and insulted them with menaces of what was to come; which is the necessary consequence of such troubles in a great city.

Pompey himself, who was already confounded at the turn things had taken, was still more disturbed by a variety of censures on his conduct. Some said, he justly suffered for exalting Cæsar against himself and his country; others, for permitting Lentulus to over-rule him, when Cæsar departed from his first demands, and offered equitable terms of peace. Favonius went so far as to bid him, "Stamp with his foot;" alluding to a vaunting speech he had made in the senate, in which he bade them take no thought about preparations for the war; for, as soon as he marched out of Rome, if he did but stamp with his foot, he should fill Italy with his legions.

Pompey, however, at that time was not inferior in numbers to Cæsar, but his partizans would not suffer him to proceed according to his own opinion. By false reports and groundless terrors, as if the enemy was at the gates, and had carried all before him, they forced him along with the general torrent. He had it decreed, therefore, that things were in a tumultuous state, and nothing to be expected but hostilities, and then left Rome, having first ordered the senate, and every man to follow, who preferred his country and liberty to the rod of a tyrant. The consuls too fled with him, without offering the sacrifices which custom required before they took their departure from Rome. Most of the senators snatched up those things in their houses that were next at hand, as if the whole was not their own, and joined in the flight. Nay, there were some, who before were well affected to Cæsar, that in the present terror changed sides, and suffered themselves without necessity to be carried away by the

the torrent. What a miserable spectacle was the city then! In so dreadful a tempest, like a ship abandoned by its pilots, tost about at all adventures, and at the mercy of the winds and seas. But though flight was so unpromising an alternative, such was the love the Romans had for Pompey, that they considered the place he retired to as their country, and Rome as the camp of Cæsar. For even Labienus, one of Cæsar's principal friends, who, in quality of his lieutenant, had served under him with the greatest alacrity in the wars of Gaul, now went over to Pompey. Nevertheless, Cæsar sent him his money and his equipage.

After this, Cæsar invested Corfinium, where Domitius with thirty cohorts commanded for Pompey. Domitius * in despair ordered a servant of his, who was his physician, to give him poison. He took the draught prepared for him, as a sure means of death; but, soon after, hearing of Cæsar's extraordinary clemency to his prisoners, he lamented his own case and the hasty resolution he had taken. Upon which the physician removed his fears, by assuring him that what he had drank was a sleeping potion, not a deadly one. This gave him such spirits, that he rose up and went to Cæsar. But though Cæsar pardoned him, and gave him his hand, he soon revolted, and repaired again to Pompey.

The news of this transaction being brought to Rome, gave great relief to the minds of the people, and many who had fled came back again. In the mean time Cæsar having added to his own army the troops of Domitius, and all others that Pompey had left in garrison, was strong enough to march against Pompey himself. The latter, however, did not wait for him; but retired to Brundusium, from whence he sent the consuls with part of the forces to Dyrrhachium, and a little after, upon the approach of Cæsar, sailed thither himself, as we have related at large in his life. Cæsar would have followed him immediately, but he wanted ships. He therefore returned to Rome, with the glory of having reduced Italy in sixty days without spilling a drop of blood.

Finding

* Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus was nominated to succeed Cæsar, pursuant to the decree of the senate, in the government of Transalpine Gaul; but he imprudently shut himself up in Corfinium before he left Italy.

Finding the city in a more ſettled condition than he expected, and many ſenators there, he addreſſed them in a mild and gracious manner, and deſired them to ſend deputies to Pompey to offer honourable terms of peace. But not one of them would take upon him the commiſſion: Whether it was that they were afaid of Pompey whom they had deſerted, or whether they thought Cæſar not in earneſt in the propoſal, and that he only made it to ſave appearances. As Mitellus the tribune oppoſed his taking money out of the public treaſury, and alleged ſome laws againſt it, Cæſar ſaid, "Arms and laws do not flouriſh "together. If you are not pleaſed at what I am about, "you have nothing to do but to withdraw: indeed, war "will not bear much liberty of ſpeech. When I ſay this, "I am departing from my own right: For you and all, "whom I have found exciting a ſpirit of faction againſt "me, are at my diſpoſal." Saying this, he approached the doors of the treaſury, and as the keys were not produced, he ſent for workmen to break them open. Metellus oppoſed him again, and ſome praiſed his firmneſs; but Cæſar, raiſing his voice, threatened to put him to death, if he gave him any farther trouble. "And, young "man," ſaid he, "you are not ignorant that this is "harder for me to ſay than to do." Metellus, terrified with his menace, retired, and afterwards Cæſar was eaſily and readily ſupplied with every thing neceſſary for the war.

His firſt movement was to Spain, from whence he was reſolved to drive Afranius and Varro, Pompey's lieutenants, and after having made himſelf maſter of their troops and provinces, to march againſt Pompey, without leaving any enemy behind him. In the courſe of this expedition, his life was often in danger from ambuſcades, and his army had to combat with famine; yet he continued his operations againſt the enemy, either by purſuit, or offering them battle, or forming lines of circumvallation about them, till he forced their camp, and added their troops to his own. The officers made their eſcape, and retired to Pompey.

Upon his return to Rome, his father-in-law Piſo preſſed him to ſend deputies to Pompey to treat of an accommodation; but Iſauricus, to make his court to Cæſar, oppoſed it. The ſenate declared him dictator, and while he held that office, he recalled the exiles; he reſtored to their honours the children of thoſe who had ſuffered under Sylla; and

and relieved debtors by cancelling part of the usury. These, and a few more, were his acts during his dictatorship, which he laid down in eleven days. After this, he caused himself to be declared consul with Servilius Isauricus, and then went to prosecute the war. He marched so fast to Brundusium, that all his troops could not keep up with him. However, he embarked with only six hundred select horse and five legions. It was at the time of the winter solstice, the beginning of January, which answers to the Athenian month *Poseideon*, that he set sail. He crossed the Ionian, made himself master of Oricum and Apollonia, and sent back * his ships to Brundusium to bring over the forces that were left behind. But those troops, exhausted with fatigue, and tired out with the multitude of enemies they had to engage with, broke out into complaints against Cæsar, as they were upon their march to their port. "Whither will this man lead us," said they, "and where will be the end of our labours? "Will he harass us for ever, as if we had limbs of stone, "or bodies of iron? But iron itself yields to repeated "blows; our very shields and cuirasses call out for rest. "Will not Cæsar learn from our wounds that we are mortal, that we have the same feelings, and are liable to "the same impressions with other men? The gods themselves cannot force the seasons, or clear the winter seas "of storms and tempests. And it is in this season that "he would expose us, as if he was flying from his enemies, rather than pursuing them."

Amidst such discourse as this, they moved on slowly to Brundusium. But when they arrived there, and found that Cæsar was gone, they changed their language, and reproached themselves as traitors to their general. They vented their anger upon their officers, too, for not hastening their march. And sitting upon the clifts, they kept their eyes upon the sea towards Epirus, to see if they could discover the transports that were to fetch them.

Meantime Cæsar, not having a sufficient force at Apollonia to make head against the enemy, and seeing the troops at Brundusium delayed to join him, to relieve himself from the anxiety and perplexity he was in, undertook a most

* He sent them back under the conduct of Calenus. That officer losing the opportunity of the wind, fell in with Bibulus, who took thirty of his ships, and burnt them all, together with their pilots and mariners, in order to intimidate the rest.

a most astonishing enterprize. Though the sea was covered with the enemy's fleets, he resolved to embark in a vessel of twelve oars, without acquainting any person with his intention, and sail to Brundusium*. In the night, therefore, he took the habit of a slave, and throwing himself into the vessel like a man of no account, sat there in silence. They fell down the river † Anias for the sea, where the entrance is generally easy, because the land-wind rising in a morning, used to beat off the waves of the sea and smooth the mouth of the river. But unluckily that night a strong sea-wind sprung up which over-powered that from the land; so that by the rage of the sea and the counteraction of the stream, the river became extremely rough; the waves dashed against each other with a tumultuous noise, and formed such dangerous eddies, that the pilot despaired of making good his passage, and ordered the mariners to turn back. Cæsar perceiving this, rose up, and shewing himself to the pilot, who was greatly astonished at the sight of him, said, "Go forward, my friend, "and fear nothing; thou carriest Cæsar and his fortune." The mariners then forgot the storm, and plying their oars with the utmost vigour and alacrity, endeavoured to overcome the resistance of the waves. But such was their violence at the mouth of the river, and the water flowed so fast into the vessel, that Cæsar at last, though with great reluctance, permitted the pilot to turn back. Upon his return to his camp, the soldiers met him in crowds, pouring out their complaints, and expressing the greatest concern that he did not assure himself of conquering with them only, but, in distrust of their support, gave himself so much uneasiness and exposed his person to so much danger on account of the absent.

Soon after, Antony arrived from Brundusium with the troops ‡. Cæsar, then in the highest spirits, offered battle

* Most historians blame this as a rash action; and Cæsar himself, in his Commentaries, makes no mention of this, or of another less dangerous attempt, which is related by Suetonius. While he was making war in Gaul, upon advice that the Gauls had surrounded his army in his absence, he dressed himself like a native of the country, and in that disguise passed through the enemy's centinels and troops to his own camp.

† Strabo, in his seventh book, (Ed. Par. p. 316. BC.) calls this river *Aous*. In Polybius it is called *Lous*; but that is a corruption, the A being changed, by the fault of the transcriber, into a Λ.

‡ Antony and Calenus embarked on board the vessels which had escaped Bibulus, eight hundred horse and four legions, that is, three old ones

battle to Pompey, who was encamped in an advantageous manner, and abundantly ſupplied with proviſions both from ſea and land; whereas Cæſar at firſt had no great plenty, and afterwards was in extreme want. The ſoldiers, however, found great relief from a root * in the adjoining fields, which they prepared in milk. Sometimes they made it into bread, and going up to the enemy's advanced guards, threw it among them, and declared, "That as long as the earth produced ſuch roots, they "would certainly beſiege Pompey."

Pompey would not ſuffer either ſuch bread to be produced, or ſuch ſpeeches to be reported in his camp; for his men were already diſcouraged, and ready to ſhudder at the thought of the impenetrable hardneſs of Cæſar's troops, who could bear as much as ſo many wild beaſts. There were frequent ſkirmiſhes about Pompey's entrenchments †, and Cæſar had the advantage in them all, except one, in which his party was forced to fly with ſuch precipitation, that he was in danger of having his camp taken. Pompey headed the attack in perſon, and not a man could ſtand before him. He drove them upon their own lines in the utmoſt confuſion, and filled their trenches with the dead.

Cæſar ran to meet them, and would have rallied the fugitives, but it was not in his power. He laid hold on the enſign-ſtaves to ſtop them, and ſome left them in his hands, and others threw them upon the ground, inſomuch that no leſs than thirty-two ſtandards were taken. Cæſar himſelf was very near loſing his life; for having laid hold of a tall and ſtrong man, to ſtop him and make him face about, the ſoldier in his terror and confuſion lifted up his ſword to ſtrike him; but Cæſar's armour-bearer prevented it by a blow which cut off his arm. Cæſar

ones, and one that had been newly raiſed; and when they were landed, Antony ſent back the ſhips for the reſt of the forces.

* This root was called *Clæra*. Some of Cæſar's ſoldiers, who had ſerved in Sardinia, had there learned to make bread of it.

† Cæſar obſerved an old camp which he had occupied in the place where Pompey was incloſed, and afterwards abandoned. Upon his quitting it, Pompey had taken poſſeſſion of it, and left a legion to guard it. This poſt Cæſar attempted to reduce, and it was in this attempt that he ſuffered ſo much loſs. He loſt nine huudred and ſixty foot, four hundred horſe, among whom were ſeveral Roman knights, five tribunes, and thirty-two centurions. We mentioned juſt now that Pompey was incloſed, as in fact he was on the land-ſide, by a line of circumvallation drawn by Cæſar.

Cæsar saw his affairs that day in so bad a posture, that after Pompey, either through too much caution, or the caprice of fortune, instead of giving the finishing stroke to so great an action, stopped as soon as he had shut up the enemy within their entrenchments, and sounded a retreat, he said to his friends as he withdrew, "This day "victory would have declared for the enemy, if they had "had a general who knew how to conquer." He sought repose in his tent, but it proved the most melancholy night of his life. For he gave himself up to endless reflections on his own misconduct in the war. He considered how wrong it was, when the wide countries and rich cities of Macedonia and Thessaly were before him, to confine himself to so narrow a scene of action, and sit still by the sea, while the enemy's fleets had the superiority, and in a place where he suffered the inconveniencies of a siege from the want of provisions, rather than besiege the enemy by his arms. Thus agitated and distressed by the perplexities and difficulties of his situation, he resolved to decamp, and march against Scipio in Macedonia; concluding, that he should either draw Pompey after him, and force him to fight where he could not receive supplies, as he had done, from the sea; or else that he should easily crush Scipio, if he found him unsupported.

Pompey's troops and officers were greatly elated at this retreat of Cæsar; they considered it as a flight and an acknowledgment that he was beaten, and therefore wanted to pursue. But Pompey himself was unwilling to hazard a battle of such consequence. He was well provided with every thing requisite for waiting the advantages of time, and for that reason chose, by protracting the war, to wear out the little vigour the enemy had left. The most valuable of Cæsar's troops had, indeed, an experience and courage which were irresistible in the field; but age had made them unfit for long marches, for throwing up entrenchments, for attacking walls, and passing whole nights under arms. They were too unwieldy to endure much fatigue, and their inclination for labour lessened with their strength. Besides, there was said to be a contagious distemper among them, which arose from their strange and bad diet: And, what was still a more important circumstance, Cæsar wanted both money and provisions, so that it seemed as if he must shortly fall of himself.

These

These were Pompey's reasons for declining a battle; but not a man, except Cato, was of his opinion; and he, only, because he was willing to spare the blood of his countrymen: For when he saw the bodies of the enemy, who fell in the late action, to the number of a thousand, lie dead upon the field, he covered his face, and retired, weeping. All the rest censured Pompey for not deciding the affair immediately with the sword, calling him *Agamemnon*, and *King of Kings*, as if he was unwilling to be deprived of the monarchy he was in possession of, and delighted to see so many generals waiting his orders, and attending to pay their court. Favonius, who affected to imitate Cato's bold manner of speaking, but carried it much too far, lamented that Pompey's wanting to keep the kingly state he had got, would prevent their eating figs that year at Tusculum. And Afranius, lately come from Spain, where he had succeeded so ill in his command, that he was accused of having been bribed to betray his army, asked Pompey, "Why he did not fight that merchant who trafficked in provinces?"

Piqued at these reproaches, Pompey, against his own judgment, marched after Cæsar, who proceeded on his route with great difficulty; for, on account of his late loss, all looked upon him with contempt, and refused to supply him with provisions. However, upon his taking Gomphi *, a town in Thessaly, his troops not only found sufficient refreshments, but recovered surprisingly of the distemper. For, drinking plentifully of the wine they found there, and afterwards marching on in a Bacchanalian manner, the new turn their blood took, threw off the disorder, and gave them another habit of body.

When the two armies were encamped opposite each other on the plains of Pharsalia, Pompey returned to his old opinion; in which he was confirmed by some unlucky omens, and an alarming dream. He dreamed that the people of Rome received him in the theatre with loud plaudits, and that he adorned the chapel of Venus *Nicephora*, from whom Cæsar derived his pedigree. But if Pompey was alarmed, those about him were so absurdly sanguine

* Cæsar, perceiving of how much importance it was to his service to make himself master of the place, before Pompey or Scipio could come up, gave a general assault, about three in the afternoon; and, though the walls were very high, carried it before sun-set.

ſanguine in their expectations of victory, that Domitius, Spinther, and Scipio, quarrelled about Cæſar's pontificate; and numbers ſent to Rome, to engage houſes convenient for conſuls and prætors, making themſelves ſure of being ſoon raiſed to thoſe high offices after the war. But the cavalry teſtified the greateſt impatience for a battle; ſo proud were they of their fine arms, of the condition of their horſes, and the beauty and vigour of their perſons; beſides, they were much more numerous than Cæſar's, being ſeven thouſand to one thouſand. Nor were the numbers of infantry equal; for Pompey had forty-five thouſand, and Cæſar only twenty-two thouſand.

Cæſar called his ſoldiers together, and told them, "That Cornificius was well advanced on his way with "two more legions, and that he had fifteen cohorts under "the command of Calenus, in the environs of Megara "and Athens." He then aſked them, "Whether they "choſe to wait for thoſe troops, or to riſk a battle without them?" They anſwered aloud, "Let us not wait; "but do you find out ſome ſtratagem to bring the enemy, "as ſoon as poſſible, to an action."

He began with offering ſacrifices of purification for his army, and upon opening the firſt victim, the ſoothſayer cried out, "You will fight within three days." Cæſar then aſked him, if there appeared in the entrails any auſpicious preſage? He anſwered, "It is you who can beſt "reſolve that queſtion. The gods announce a great "change and revolution in affairs. If you are happy at "preſent, the alteration will be for the worſe; if otherwiſe, expect better fortune." The night before the battle, as he walked the rounds about midnight, there appeared a luminous phænomenon in the air, like a torch, which, as it paſſed over his camp, flamed out with great brightneſs, and ſeemed to fall in that of Pompey. And, in the morning, when the guards were relieved, a tumult was obſerved in the enemy's camp, not unlike a panic terror. Cæſar, however, ſo little expected an action that day, that he had ordered his troops to decamp, and march to Scotuſa*.

But as they were ſtriking their tents, his ſcouts rode up, and told him, the enemy were coming down to give him battle.

* Cæſar hoped, by his frequent decampings, to provide better for his troops, and perhaps gain a favourable opportunity of fighting.

battle. Happy in the news, he made his prayer to the gods, and then drew up his army, which he divided into three bodies. Domitius Calvinus was to command the centre, Antony the left wing, and himſelf the right, where he intended to charge at the head of the tenth legion. Struck with the number and magnificent appearance of the enemy's cavalry, who were poſted over againſt him, he ordered ſix cohorts privately to advance from the rear. Theſe he placed behind the right wing, and gave them inſtructions what to do when the enemy's horſe came to charge *. Pompey's diſpoſition was this: He commanded the right wing himſelf, Domitius the left, and his father-in-law, Scipio, the main body. The whole weight of the cavalry was in the left wing; for they deſigned to ſurround the right of the enemy, and to make a ſucceſsful effort where Cæſar fought in perſon; thinking no body of foot could be deep enough to bear ſuch a ſhock, but they muſt neceſſarily be broken in pieces upon the firſt impreſſion.

When the ſignal was ready to be given, Pompey ordered his infantry to ſtand in cloſe order, and wait the enemy's attack, till they were near enough to be reached by the javelin. Cæſar blamed this conduct. He ſaid Pompey was not aware what weight the ſwift and fierce advance to the firſt charge, gives to every blow, nor how the courage of each ſoldier is inflamed by the rapid motion of the whole †.

He was now going to put his troops in motion, when he ſaw a truſty and experienced centurion encouraging his men to diſtinguiſh themſelves that day. Cæſar called him by his name, and ſaid, "What cheer, Caius Craſſinus? "How, think you, do we ſtand?" "Cæſar," ſaid the veteran, in a bold accent, and ſtretching out his hand, "the

* Cæſar and Appian agree, that Pompey poſted himſelf in his left wing, not in the right. It is alſo highly probable that Afranius, not Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus, commanded Pompey's right wing.—Cæſar does not, indeed, expreſsly ſay who commanded there, but he ſays, "On the right was poſted the legion of Cilicia, with the cohorts "brought by Afranius out of Spain, which Pompey eſteemed the "flower of his army." See the notes on the Life of Pompey.

† Cæſar was ſo confident of ſucceſs, that he ordered his entrenchments to be filled up, aſſuring his troops that they would be maſters of the enemy's camp before night.

‡ Plutarch, in the Life of Pompey, calls him *Craſſianus*. Cæſar calls him *Craſtinus*.

"the victory is ours. It will be a glorious one; and this "day I shall have your praise either alive or dead." So saying he ran in upon the enemy, at the head of his company, which consisted of an hundred and twenty men. He did great execution among the first ranks, and was pressing on with equal fierceness, when one of his antagonists pushed his sword with such force in his mouth, that the point came out at the nape of his neck.

While the infantry were thus warmly engaged in the centre, the cavalry advanced from Pompey's left wing with great confidence, and extended their squadrons, to surround Cæsar's right wing. But before they could begin the attack *, the six cohorts which Cæsar had placed behind, came up boldly, to receive them. They did not, according to custom, attempt to annoy the enemy with their javelins at a distance, nor strike at the legs and thighs when they came nearer, but aimed at their eyes, and wounded them in the face, agreeably to the orders they had received. For Cæsar hoped that these young cavaliers who had not been used to wars and wounds, and who set a great value upon their beauty, would avoid, above all things, a stroke in that part, and immediately give way, as well on account of the present danger, as the future deformity. The event answered his expectation. They could not bear the spears pointed against their faces, or the steel gleaming upon their eyes, but turned away their faces, and covered them with their hands. This caused such confusion, that at last they fled in the most infamous manner, and ruined the whole cause. For the cohorts which had beaten them off, surrounded their infantry, and charging them in the rear, as well as in front, soon cut them to pieces.

Pompey, when from the other wing he saw his cavalry put to the rout, was no longer himself, nor did he remember that he was Pompey the Great; but like a man deprived of his senses by some superior power, or struck with consternation at his defeat as the consequence of the divine decree, he retired to his camp without speaking a word, and sat down in his tent to wait the issue. At last, after his whole army was broken and dispersed, and the enemy had got upon his ramparts, and were engaged with the troops

* Cæsar says, they did engage his right wing, and obliged his cavalry to give ground. *Bell. Civil.* lib. iii.

troops appointed to defend them, he seemed to come to himself, and cried out, "What! into my camp too?" Without uttering one word more, he laid aside the ensigns of his dignity as general, and taking a habit that might favour his flight, he made his escape privately. What misfortunes befel him afterwards, how he put himself in the hands of the Egyptians, and was assassinated by the traitors, we have related at large in his life.

When Cæsar entered the camp, and saw what numbers of the enemy lay dead, and those they were then despatching, he said with a sigh, "This they would have; to this "cruel necessity they reduced me: For had Cæsar dismis-"sed his troops, after so many great and successful wars, "he would have been condemned as a criminal." Asinius Pollio tells us, Cæsar spoke those words in Latin, and that he afterwards expressed the sense of them in Greek. He adds, that most of those who were killed at the taking of the camp, were slaves, and that there fell not in the battle above six thousand soldiers *. Cæsar incorporated with his own legions most of the infantry that were taken prisoners; and pardoned many persons of distinction. Brutus, who afterwards killed him, was of the number. It is said, that when he did not make his appearance after the battle, Cæsar was very uneasy, and that upon his presenting himself unhurt, he expressed great joy.

Among the many signs that announced this victory, that at Tralles was the most remarkable. There was a statue of Cæsar in the temple of Victory; and though the ground about it was naturally hard, and paved with hard stone besides, it is said that a palm tree sprung up at the pedestal of the statue. At Padua, Caius Cornelius, a countryman and acquaintance of Livy, and a celebrated diviner, was observing the flight of birds the day the battle of Pharsalia was fought. By this observation, according to Livy's account, he first discerned the time of action, and said to those that were by, "The great affair now "draws to a decision; the two generals are eggaged." Then he made another observation, and the signs appeared so clear to him, that he leaped up in the most enthusiastic

* Cæsar says, there fell about fifteen thousand of the enemy, and that he took above twenty-four thousand prisoners; and that on his side, the loss amounted only to about two hundred private soldiers, and thirty centurions.

tic manner, and cried out, "Cæſar, thou art the con-"queror." As the company ſtood in great aſtoniſhment, he took the ſacred fillet from his head, and ſwore "He "would never put it on again, till the event had put his "art beyond queſtion." Livy affirms this for a truth.

Cæſar granted the whole nation of Theſſaly their liberty, for the ſake of the victory he had gained there, and then went in purſuit of Pompey. He beſtowed the ſame privilege on the Cnidians, in compliment to Theopompus, to whom we are indebted for a collection of fables, and he diſcharged the inhabitants of Aſia from a third part of their impoſts.

Upon his arrival at Alexandria, he found Pompey aſſaſſinated, and when Theodotus preſented the head to him, he turned from the ſight with great abhorrence. The ſignet of that general was the only thing he took, and on taking it, he wept. As often as any of Pompey's friends and companions were taken by Ptolemy, wandering about the country, and brought to Cæſar he loaded them with favours, and took them into his own ſervice. He wrote to his friends at Rome, "That the chief enjoyment he "had of his victory was, in ſaving every day one or other "of his fellow-citizens, who had borne arms againſt "him."

As for his Egyptian war, ſome aſſert that it was undertaken without neceſſity, and that his paſſion for Cleopatra engaged him in a quarrel, which proved both prejudicial to his reputation, and dangerous to his perſon. Others accuſe the king's miniſters, particularly the eunuch Photinus, who had the greateſt influence at court, and who, having taken off Pompey, and removed Cleopatra, privately meditated an attempt againſt Cæſar. Hence it is ſaid, that Cæſar began to paſs the night in entertainments among his friends, for the greater ſecurity of his perſon. The behaviour, indeed, of this eunuch in public, all he ſaid and did with reſpect to Cæſar, was intolerably inſolent and invidious. The corn he ſupplied his ſoldiers with was old and muſty, and he told them, "They ought to be ſatisfied with it, ſince they lived "at other people's coſt." He cauſed only wooden and earthen veſſels to be ſerved up at the king's table, on pretence that Cæſar had taken all the gold and ſilver ones for debt. For the father of the reigning prince owed Cæſar ſeventeen million five hundred thouſand *drachmas*. Cæſar

had formerly remitted to his children the reſt, but thought fit to demand the ten millions at this time, for the maintenance of his army. Photinus, inſtead of paying the money, adviſed him to go and finiſh the great affairs he had upon his hands, after which he ſhould have his money with thanks. But Cæſar told him, "He had no need of "Egyptian counſellors," and privately ſent for Cleopatra out of the country.

This princeſs, taking only one friend, Apollodorus the Sicilian, with her, got into a ſmall boat, and in the duſk of the evening made for the palace. As ſhe ſaw it difficult to enter it undiſcovered, ſhe rolled herſelf up in a carpet; Apollodorus tied her up at full length, like a bale of goods, and carried her in at the gates to Cæſar. This ſtratagem of hers, which was a ſtrong proof of her wit and ingenuity, is ſaid to have firſt opened her the way to Cæſar's heart; and the conqueſt advanced ſo faſt, by the charms of her converſation, that he took upon him to reconcile her brother to her, and inſiſted that ſhe ſhould reign with him.

An entertainment was given on account of this reconciliation, and all met to rejoice on the occaſion; when a ſervant of Cæſar's, who was his barber, a timorous and ſuſpicious man, led by his natural caution to inquire into every thing, and to liſten every where about the palace, found that Achillas the general, and Photinus the eunuch, were plotting againſt Cæſar's life. Cæſar being informed of their deſign, planted his guards about the hall and killed Photinus. But Achillas eſcaped to the army, and involved Cæſar in a very difficult and dangerous war: for with a few troops he had to make head againſt a great city, and a powerful army.

The firſt difficulty he met with*, was, the want of water, the Egyptians having ſtopped up the aqueducts that ſupplied his quarter†. The ſecond was, the loſs of his ſhips in harbour, which he was forced to burn himſelf, to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands; when the flames unfortunately ſpreading from the dock to the palace, burnt

* He was in great danger before, when attacked in the palace by Achillas, who had made himſelf maſter of Alexandria. Cæs. Bell. Civil. Lib. iii. ſub finem.

† They alſo contrived to raiſe the ſea-water by engines, and pour it into Cæſar's reſervoirs and ciſterns; but Cæſar ordered wells to be dug, and, in a night's time, got a ſufficient quantity of freſh water. Vide Cæs. Bell. Alex.

burnt the great Alexandrian library. The third * was in the ſea-fight near the iſle of Pharos, when, ſeeing his men hard preſſed, he leaped from the mole into a little ſkiff, to go to their aſſiſtance. The Egyptians making up on all ſides, he threw himſelf into the ſea, and with much difficulty reached his galleys by ſwimming †. Having ſeveral valuable papers, which he was not willing either to loſe or to wet, it is ſaid he held them above water with one hand, and ſwam with the other. The ſkiff ſunk ſoon after he left it. At laſt the king joining the inſurgents, Cæſar attacked and defeated him. Great numbers of the Egyptians were ſlain, and the king was heard of no more. This gave Cæſar opportunity to eſtabliſh Cleopatra queen of Egypt. Soon after ſhe had a ſon by him, whom the Alexandrians called Cæſario.

He then departed for Syria, and from thence marched into Aſia Minor, where he had intelligence that Domitius, whom he had left governor, was defeated by Pharnaces, ſon of Mithridates, and forced to fly out of Pontus with the few troops that he had left; and that Pharnaces, purſuing his advantage with great ardour, had made himſelf maſter of Bithynia and Cappadocia, and was attempting Armenia the Leſs, having ſtirred up all the kings and tetrarchs of Aſia againſt the Romans. Cæſar immediately marched againſt him with three legions, and defeated him in a great battle near Zela, which deprived him of the kingdom of Pontus, as well as ruined his whole army. In the account he gave Amintius, one of his friends in Rome, of the rapidity and deſpatch with which he gained his victory, he made uſe only of three words ‡, "I came, I ſaw, I conquered." Their having all the ſame form and termination in the Roman language, adds grace to their conciſeneſs.

After this extraordinary ſucceſs he returned to Italy, and arrived at Rome, as the year of his ſecond dictatorſhip, an office that had never been annual before, was on the point of expiring. He was declared conſul for the year enſuing.

* Firſt there was a general naval engagement; after which Cæſar attacked the iſland, and, laſt of all, the mole. It was in this laſt attack he was under the difficulty mentioned by Plutarch.

† His firſt intention was to gain the Admiral galley; but finding it very hard preſſed, he made for the others. And it was fortunate for him that he did, for his own galley ſoon went to the bottom.

‡ *Veni, vidi, vici.*

But it was a blot in his character that he did not punish his troops, who, in a tumult, had killed Cosconius and Galba, men of Prætorian dignity, in any severer manner than by calling them citizens *, instead of fellow-soldiers. Nay, he gave each of them a thousand *drachmas* notwithstanding, and assigned them large portions of land in Italy. Other complaints against him arose from the madness of Dolabella, the avarice of Amintius, the drunkenness of Antony, and the insolence of Cornificius †, who, having got possession of Pompey's house, pulled it down, and rebuilt it, because he thought it not large enough for him. These things were very disagreeable to the Romans. Cæsar knew it, and disapproved such behaviour, but was obliged, through political views, to make use of such ministers.

Cato and Scipio, after the battle of Pharsalia, had escaped into Africa, where they raised a respectable army with the assistance of king Juba. Cæsar now resolved to carry war into their quarters, and in order to it, first crossed over to Sicily, though it was about the time of the winter solstice. To prevent his officers from entertaining any hopes of having the expedition delayed, he pitched his own tent almost within the wash of the sea; and a favourable wind springing up, he re-embarked with three thousand foot and a small body of horse ‡. After he had landed them safely and privately on the African coast, he set sail again in quest of the remaining part of his troops, whose numbers were more considerable, and for whom he was under great concern. He found them, however, on their way at sea, and conducted them all to his African camp.

He was there informed, that the enemy had great dependence on an ancient oracle, the purport of which was, "That

* But by this appellation they were cashiered. It was the tenth legion which had mutinied at Capua, and afterwards marched with great insolence to Rome. Cæsar readily gave them the discharge they demanded, which so humbled them, that they begged to be taken again into his service; and he did not admit of it without much seeming reluctance, nor till after much intreaty.

† It was Antony, not Cornificius, who got the forfeiture of Pompey's house; as appears from the life of Antony, and Cicero's second Philippic. Therefore there is, probably, a transposition in this place, owing to the carelessness of some transcriber.

‡ He embarked six legions, and two thousand horse; but the number mentioned by Plutarch was all that he landed with at first; many of the ships having been separated by a storm.

"That the race of Scipio would be always victorious in "Africa." And, as he happened to have in his army one of the family of Africanus, named Scipio Sallution, though in other respects a contemptible fellow, either in ridicule of Scipio, the enemy's general, or to turn the oracle on his side, in all engagements he gave this Sallution the command, as if he had been really general. There were frequent occasions of this kind; for he was often forced to fight for provisions, having neither a sufficiency of bread for his men, nor of forage for his horses. He was obliged to give his horses the very sea-weed, only washing out the salt, and mixing a little grass with it to make it go down. The thing that laid him under a necessity of having recourse to this expedient, was the number of Numidian cavalry, who were extremely well mounted, and by swift and sudden impressions commanded the whole coast.

One day when Cæsar's cavalry had nothing else to do, they diverted themselves with an African who danced, and played upon the flute with great perfection. They had left their horses to the care of boys, and sat attending to the entertainment with great delight, when the enemy coming upon them at once, killed part, and entered the camp with others, who fled with great precipitation. Had not Cæsar himself, and Asinius Pollio come to their assistance, and stopped their flight, the war would have been at an end that hour. In another engagement the enemy had the advantage again; on which occasion it was that Cæsar took an ensign, who was running away, by the neck, and making him face about, said, "Look on this side for the "enemy."

Scipio, flushed with these successful preludes, was desirous to come to a decisive action. Therefore, leaving Afranius and Juba in their respective camps, which were at no great distance, he went in person to the camp above the lake, in the neighbourhood of Thapsus, to raise a fortification for a place of arms and an occasional retreat. While Scipio was constructing his walls and ramparts, Cæsar, with incredible despatch, made his way through a country almost impracticable, by reason of its woods and difficult passes, and coming suddenly upon him, attacked one part of his army in the rear, another in the front, and put the whole to flight. Then making the best use of his opportunity, and of the favour of fortune, with one tide of success he took the camp of Afranius, and destroyed that of the

the Numidians; Juba, their king, being glad to ſave himſelf by flight. Thus, in a ſmall part of one day, he made himſelf maſter of three camps, and killed fifty thouſand of the enemy, with the loſs only of fifty men.

Such is the account ſome give us of the action: Others ſay, that as Cæſar was drawing up his army, and giving his orders, he had an attack of his old diſtemper; and that upon its approach, before it had overpowered and deprived him of his ſenſes, as he felt the firſt agitations, he directed his people to carry him to a neighbouring tower, where he lay in quiet till the fit was over.

Many perſons of conſular and prætorian dignity eſcaped out of the battle. Some of them being afterwards taken, deſpatched themſelves, and a number were put to death by Cæſar. Having a ſtrong deſire to take Cato alive, the conqueror haſtened to Utica *, which Cato had the charge of, and for that reaſon was not in the battle. But by the way he was informed that he had killed himſelf, and his uneaſineſs at the news was very viſible. As his officers were wondering what might be the cauſe of that uneaſineſs, he cried out, "Cato, I envy thee thy death, ſince thou "enviedſt me the glory of giving thee thy life." Nevertheleſs, by the book which he wrote againſt Cato after his death, it does not ſeem as if he had any intentions of favour to him before. For how can it be thought he would have ſpared the living enemy, when he poured ſo much venom afterwards upon his grave? Yet, from his clemency to Cicero, to Brutus, and others without number, who had borne arms againſt him, it is conjectured, that the book was not written with a ſpirit of rancour, but of political ambition; for it was compoſed on ſuch an occaſion. Cicero had written an encomium upon Cato, and he gave the name of *Cato* to the book. It was highly eſteemed by many of the Romans, as might be expected, as well from the ſuperior eloquence of the author, as the dignity of the ſubject. Cæſar was piqued at the ſucceſs of a work, which, in praiſing a man who had killed himſelf to avoid falling into his hands, he thought inſinuated ſomething to the diſadvantage

* Before Cæſar left Utica, he gave orders for the rebuilding of Carthage, as he did, ſoon after his return to Italy, for the rebuilding of Corinth; ſo that theſe two cities were deſtroyed in the ſame year, and in the ſame year raiſed out of their ruins, in which they had laid about a hundred years. Two years after, they were both repeopled with Roman colonies.

advantage of his character. He therefore wrote an answer to it, which he called *Anticato*, and which contained a variety of charges against that great man. Both books have still their friends, as a regard to the memory of Cæsar or of Cato predominates.

Cæsar, after his return from Africa to Rome, spoke in high terms of his victory to the people. He told them, he had subdued a country so extensive, that it would bring yearly into the public stores two hundred thousand Attic* measures of wheat, and three million of pounds of oil. After this, he led up his several triumphs, over Egypt, Pontus, and Africa†. In the title of the latter, mention was not made of Scipio, but of Juba only. Juba, the son of that prince, then very young, walked in the procession. It proved a happy captivity for him; for of a barbarous and unlettered Numidian, he became an historian worthy to be numbered among the most learned of Greece. The triumph was followed by large donations to the soldiers, and feasts and public diversions for the people. He entertained them at twenty-two thousand tables, and presented them with a numerous shew of gladiators and naval fights, in honour of his daughter Julia, who had been long dead.

When those exhibitions were over‡, an account was taken of the citizens, who, from three hundred and twenty thou-

* *Medimni.* See the table of weights and measures.

† Plutarch either forgot to make mention of the triumph over Gaul, which was the most considerable, or else τον Κελτικον has dropt out of the text.

‡ Ruauld takes notice of three great mistakes in this passage. The first is, where it is said that Cæsar took a *census* of the people. Suetonius does not mention it, and Augustus himself, in the Marmora Ancyrana, says, that in his sixth consulate, that is, in the year of Rome 725, he numbered the people, which had not been done for forty-two years before. The second is, that, before the civil wars broke out between Cæsar and Pompey, the number of the people in Rome amounted to no more than three hundred and twenty thousand; for long before that it was much greater, and had continued upon the increase. The last is, where it is asserted, that, in less than three years, those three hundred and twenty thousand were reduced, by that war, to a hundred and fifty thousand; the falsity of which assertion is evident from this, that a little while after, Cæsar made a draught of eighty thousand, to be sent to foreign colonies. But, what is still stronger, eighteen years after, Augustus took an account of the people, and found the number amount to four millions and sixty-three thousand, as Suetonius assures us. From a passage in the same author (Life of Cæsar, chap. iv.) these mistakes of Plutarch took their rise. Suetonius there says, *Recensum populi*

thouſand, were reduced to a hundred and fifty thouſand. So fatal a calamity was the civil war, and ſuch a number of the people did it take off, to ſay nothing of the miſfortunes it brought upon the reſt of Italy, and all the provinces of the empire.

This buſineſs done, he was elected conſul the fourth time; and the firſt thing he undertook, was to march into Spain againſt the ſons of Pompey, who, though young, had aſſembled a numerous army, and ſhewed a courage worthy the command they had undertaken. The great battle which put a period to that war, was fought under the walls of Munda. Cæſar at firſt ſaw his men ſo hard preſſed, and making ſo feeble a reſiſtance, that he ran thro' the ranks, amidſt the ſwords and ſpears, crying, "Are "you not aſhamed to deliver your general into the hands "of boys?" The great and vigorous efforts this reproach produced, at laſt made the enemy turn their backs, and there were more than thirty thouſand of them ſlain, whereas Cæſar loſt only a thouſand, but thoſe were ſome of the beſt men he had. As he retired after the battle, he told his friends, "He had often fought for victory, but that "was the firſt time he had fought for his life."

He won this battle on the day of the *Liberalia* *, which was the ſame day that Pompey the Great marched out, four years before. The younger of Pompey's ſons made his eſcape; the other was taken by Didius, a few days after, who brought his head to Cæſar.

This was the laſt of his wars; and his triumph on account of it gave the Romans more pain than any other ſtep he had taken. He did not now mount the car for having conquered foreign generals, or barbarian kings, but for ruining the children, and deſtroying the race of one of the greateſt men Rome had ever produced, though he proved at laſt unfortunate. All the world condemned his triumphing in the calamities of his country, and rejoicing

populi nec more nec loco ſolito, ſed vicatim per dominos inſularum egit: atque ex viginti trecentiſque millibus accipientium frumentum e publico, ad centum quinquaginta retraxit. Suetonius ſpeaks there of the citizens, who ſhared in the public corn, whom he found to amount to three hundred and twenty thouſand, and, probably, becauſe he perceived that diſtribution anſwered in many only the purpoſes of idleneſs, he reduced the number to a hundred and twenty thouſand. Plutarch miſtook *recenſum* for *cenſum*; and this error led him into the other miſtakes.

* The ſeventeenth of March.

joicing in things which nothing could excuse, either before the gods or men, but extreme necessity. And it was the more obvious to condemn it, because, before this, he had never sent any messenger or letter to acquaint the public with any victory he had gained in the civil wars, but was rather ashamed of such advantages. The Romans, however, bowing to his power, and submitting to the bridle, because they saw no other respite from intestine wars and miseries, but the taking one man for their master, created him dictator for life. This was a complete tyranny; for to absolute power they added perpetuity.

Cicero was the first who proposed that the senate should confer great honours upon Cæsar, but honours within the measure of humanity. Those who followed, contended with each other which should make him the most extraordinary compliments, and by the absurdity and extravagance of their decrees, rendered him odious and insupportable even to persons of candour. His enemies are supposed to vie with his flatterers in these sacrifices, that they might have the better pretence, and the more cause, to lift up their hands against him. This is probable enough, because in other respects, after the civil wars were brought to an end, his conduct was irreproachable. It seems as if there was nothing unreasonable in their ordering a temple to be built to CLEMENCY, in gratitude for the mercy they had experienced in Cæsar. For he not only pardoned most of those who had appeared against him in the field, but on some of them he bestowed honours and preferments; on Brutus and Cassius for instance; for they were both prætors. The statues of Pompey had been thrown down, but he did not suffer them to lie in that posture; he erected them again. On which occasion Cicero said, "That Cæsar, by rearing Pompey's statues, "had established his own."

His friends pressed him to have a guard, and many offered to serve in that capacity, but he would not suffer it. For, he said, "It was better to die once, than to "live always in fear of death." He esteemed the affection of the people the most honourable and the safest guard, and therefore endeavoured to gain them by feasts and distributions of corn, as he did the soldiers, by placing them in agreeable colonies. The most noted places that he colonized, were Carthage and Corinth; of which it is remarkable,

remarkable, that as they were both taken and demoliſhed at the ſame time, ſo they were at the ſame time reſtored.

The nobility he gained by promiſing them conſulates and prætorſhips, or, if they were engaged, by giving them other places of honour and profit. To all he opened the proſpects of hope; for he was deſirous to reign over a willing people. For this reaſon he was ſo ſtudious to oblige, that when Fabius Maximus died ſuddenly towards the cloſe of his conſulſhip, he appointed Caninus Rebilius * conſul for the day that remained. Numbers went to pay their reſpects to him, according to cuſtom, and to conduct him to the ſenate-houſe; on which occaſion Cicero ſaid, "Let us make haſte and pay our compli-"ment to the conſul, before his office is expired."

Cæſar had ſuch talents for great attempts, and ſo vaſt an ambition, that the many actions he had performed, by no means induced him to ſit down and enjoy the glory he had acquired; they rather whetted his appetite for other conqueſts, produced new deſigns equally great, together with equal confidence of ſucceſs, and inſpired him with a paſſion for freſh renown, as if he had exhauſted all the pleaſures of the old. This paſſion was nothing but a jealouſy of himſelf, a conteſt with himſelf (as eager as if it had been with another man) to make his future achievements outſhine the paſt. In this ſpirit he had formed a deſign, and was making preparations for war againſt the Parthians. After he had ſubdued them, he intended to traverſe Hyrcania, and marching along by the Caſpian ſea and Mount Caucaſus, to enter Scythia; to carry his conquering arms through the countries adjoining to Germany, and through Germany itſelf; and then to return by Gaul to Rome; thus finiſhing the circle of the Roman empire, as well as extending its bounds to the ocean on every ſide.

During the preparations for this expedition, he attempted to dig through the Iſthmus of Corinth, and committed the care of that work to Anienus †. He deſigned alſo to convey the Tiber by a deep channel directly from

* Macrobius calls him *Rebilus*.

† Ανιηνον επι τȣτο προχειρισαμενος. The Latin and French tranſlators join this with the ſentence that follows, and render it. "He de-"ſigned alſo to unite the Anio and the Tiber, and convey them by a "deep channel directly from Rome to Circæi, &c. But againſt the conſtruction

from Rome to Circæi, and ſo into the ſea near Tarracina, for the convenience as well as ſecurity of merchants who traded to Rome. Another public ſpirited work that he meditated, was to drain all the marſhes by Nomentum * and Setia, by which ground enough would be gained from the water to employ many thouſands of hands in tillage. He propoſed farther to raiſe banks on the ſhore neareſt Rome, to prevent the ſea from breaking in upon the land; to clear the Oſtian ſhore of its ſecret and dangerous obſtructions, and to build harbours fit to receive the many veſſels that came in there. Theſe things were deſigned, but did not take effect.

He completed, however, the regulation of the calendar, and corrected the erroneous computation of time †, agreeably to a plan which he had ingeniouſly contrived, and which proved of the greateſt utility. For it was not only in ancient times that the Roman months ſo ill agreed with the revolution of the year, that the feſtivals and days of ſacrifice, by little and little, fell back into ſeaſons quite oppoſite to thoſe of their inſtitution; but even in the time of Cæſar, when the ſolar year was made uſe of, the generality lived in perfect ignorance of the matter; and the prieſts, who were the only perſons that knew any thing about it, uſed to add all at once, and when nobody expected it, an intercalary month, called *Mercedonius*, of which Numa was the inventor. That remedy, however, proved much too weak, and was far from operating extenſively enough, to correct the great miſcomputations of time; as we have obſerved in that prince's life.

Cæſar

conſtruction there is this ſtrong objection, that the Anio falls into the Tiber above Rome. In Greek, too, that river would be Ανιων, not Ανιηνος. And if we admitted of that conſtruction, what could be made of Ανιηνον επι τουτο προχειρισαμενος, which would literally be, *having previouſly fitted the Anio to that purpoſe.*

On the other hand it may be alleged, that poſſibly Plutarch might not know where the conflux of the Anio and the Tiber was, though, with reſpect to a man who had lived ſome time at Rome, it is ſcarce an admiſſible ſuppoſition. And we muſt acknowledge, that we have not any where elſe met with *Anienus* as a Roman name.

Suetonius takes no notice of Cæſar's intention to make this cut.

* It appears, from a paſſage in Suetonius, Vit. Cæſ. c. 44. *Siccare Pomptinas paludes*, as well as from another in Strabo, Ed. Par. l. v. p. 231. C. D. that for *Nomentum* we ſhould here read *Pomentium*.

† Through means of that erroneous computation, the Roman calendar had gained near three months in the time of Cæſar. Before this, endeavours had been uſed to correct the irregularity, but it never could be done with exactneſs. See the life of Numa.

Cæſar having propoſed the queſtion to the moſt able philoſophers and mathematicians, publiſhed, upon principles already verified, a new and more exact regulation, which the Romans ſtill go by, and by that means are nearer the truth than other nations with reſpect to the difference between the ſun's revolution and that of the twelve months. Yet this uſeful invention furniſhed matter of ridicule to the envious, and to thoſe who could but ill brook his power. For Cicero (if I miſtake not) when ſome one happened to ſay, "*Lyra* will riſe to-morrow," anſwered, "Undoubtedly; there is an edict for it:" As if the calendar was forced upon them, as well as other things.

But the principal thing that excited the public hatred, and at laſt cauſed his death, was his paſſion for the title of king. It was the firſt thing that gave offence to the multitude, and it afforded his inveterate enemies a very plauſible plea. Thoſe who wanted to procure him that honour, gave it out among the people, that it appeared from the Sibylline books, "The Romans could never conquer the "Parthians, except they went to war under the conduct of "a king." And one day, when Cæſar returned from Alba to Rome, ſome of his retainers ventured to ſalute him by that title. Obſerving that the people were troubled at this ſtrange compliment, he put on an air of reſentment, and ſaid, "He was not called king, but Cæſar." Upon this, a deep ſilence enſued, and he paſſed on in no good humour.

Another time the ſenate having decreed him ſome extravagant honours, the conſuls and prætors, attended by the whole body of patricians, went to inform him of what they had done. When they came, he did not riſe to receive them, but kept his ſeat, as if they had been perſons in a private ſtation, and his anſwer to their addreſs, was, "That there was more need to retrench his honours, "than to enlarge them." This haughtineſs gave pain not only to the ſenate, but the people, who thought the contempt of that body reflected diſhonour upon the whole commonwealth; for all who could decently withdraw, went off greatly dejected.

Perceiving the falſe ſtep he had taken, he retired immediately to his own houſe; and laying his neck bare, told his friends, "He was ready for the firſt hand that would "ſtrike." He then bethought himſelf of alleging his diſtemper as an excuſe; and aſſerted, that thoſe who are under

under its influence, are apt to find their faculties fail them, when they ſpeak ſtanding; a trembling and giddineſs coming upon them, which bereaves them of their ſenſes. This, however, was not really the caſe; for it is ſaid, he was deſirous to riſe to the ſenate; but Cornelius Balbus, one of his friends, or rather flatterers, held him, and had ſervility enough to ſay, "Will you not remember "that you are Cæſar, and ſuffer them to pay their court "to you as their ſuperior."

Theſe diſcontents were greatly increaſed by the indignity with which he treated the tribunes of the people. In the *Lapercalia*, which, according to moſt writers, is an ancient paſtoral feaſt, and which anſwers in many reſpects to the *Lycæa* amongſt the Arcadians, young men of noble families, and indeed many of the magiſtrates, run about the ſtreets naked, and, by way of diverſion, ſtrike all they meet with leathern thongs with the hair upon them. Numbers of women of the firſt quality put themſelves in their way, and preſent their hands for ſtripes, (as ſcholars do to a maſter) being perſuaded that the pregnant gain an eaſy delivery by it, and that the barren are enabled to conceive. Cæſar wore a triumphal robe that day, and ſeated himſelf in a golden chair upon the *roſtra*, to ſee the ceremony.

Antony ran among the reſt, in compliance with the rules of the feſtival, for he was conſul. When he came into the *forum*, and the crowd had made way for him, he approached Cæſar, and offered him a diadem wreathed with laurel. Upon this ſome plaudits were heard, but very feeble, becauſe they proceeded only from perſons placed there on purpoſe. Cæſar refuſed it, and then the plaudits were loud and general. Antony preſented it once more, and few applauded his officiouſneſs; but when Cæſar rejected it again, the applauſe again was general. Cæſar, undeceived by his ſecond trial, roſe up, and ordered the diadem to be conſecrated in the capitol.

A few days after, his ſtatues were ſeen adorned with royal diadems; and Flavius and Marullus, two of the tribunes, went and tore them off. They alſo found out the perſons who firſt ſaluted Cæſar king, and committed them to priſon. The people followed with cheerful acclamations, and called them *Brutuſſes*, becauſe Brutus was the man who expelled the kings, and put the government in the hands of the ſenate and people. Cæſar, highly incenſed

incenſed at their behaviour, depoſed the tribunes; and by way of reprimand to them, as well as inſult to the people, called them ſeveral times *Brutes* and *Cumæans**.

Upon this, many applied to Marcus Brutus, who, by the father's ſide, was ſuppoſed to be a deſcendant of that ancient Brutus, and whoſe mother was of the illuſtrious houſe of the Servilii. He was alſo nephew and ſon-in-law to Cato. No man was more inclined than he to lift his hand againſt monarchy, but he was withheld by the honours and favours he had received from Cæſar, who had not only given him his life after the defeat of Pompey at Pharſalia, and pardoned many of his friends at his requeſt, but continued to honour him with his confidence. That very year he had procured him the moſt honourable prætorſhip, and he had named him for the conſulſhip four years after, in preference to Caſſius, who was his competitor. On which occaſion Cæſar is reported to have ſaid, "Caſſius aſſigns the ſtrongeſt reaſons, but I cannot refuſe "Brutus."

Some impeached Brutus, after the conſpiracy was formed; but, inſtead of liſtening to them, he laid his hand on his body, and ſaid, "Brutus will wait for this ſkin:" intimating, that, though the virtue of Brutus rendered him worthy of empire, he would not be guilty of any ingratitude or baſeneſs to obtain it. Thoſe, however, who were deſirous of a change, kept their eyes upon him only, or principally at leaſt; and as they durſt not ſpeak out plain, they put billets night after night in the tribunal and ſeat which he uſed as prætor, moſtly in theſe terms, "Thou ſleepeſt, Brutus;" or, "Thou art not Brutus."

Caſſius perceiving his friend's ambition a little ſtimulated by theſe papers, began to ply him cloſer than before, and ſpur him on to the great enterprize; for he had a particular

* One thing which Strabo mentions as an inſtance of the ſtupidity of the Cumæans, namely their not laying any duty upon merchandize imported into their harbour, ſeems to be a very equivocal proof of it: for their leaving the port free, might bring them trade, and make them a flouriſhing people. Another thing which he mentions (though it is ſcarce worth repeating) is, that they had mortgaged their porticos, and, upon failure of payment of the money, were prohibited by their creditors from walking under them; but at laſt, when ſome heavy rains came on, public notice was given by the creditors, that their debtors would be indulged that favour. Hence, he tells us, that ſaying, "The Cumæans have not ſenſe to get under ſhelter when it rains, till they are "put in mind of it by the cryer."

lar enmity againſt Cæſar, for the reaſons which we have mentioned in the life of Brutus. Cæſar, too, had ſome ſuſpicion of him, and he even ſaid one day to his friends, "What think yon of Caſſius? I do not like his pale "looks." Another time, when Antony and Dolabella were accuſed of ſome deſigns againſt his perſon and government, he ſaid, "I have no apprehenſions from thoſe "fat and ſleek men; I rather fear the pale and lean "ones;" meaning Caſſius and Brutus.

It ſeems, from this inſtance, that fate is not ſo ſecret, as it is inevitable. For we are told, there were ſtrong ſigns and preſages of the death of Cæſar. As to the lights in the heavens, the ſtrange noiſes * heard in various quarters by night, and the appearance of ſolitary birds in the *forum*, perhaps they deſerve not our notice in ſo great an event as this. But ſome attention ſhould be given to Strabo the philoſopher. According to him, there were ſeen in the air men of fire encountering each other; ſuch a flame appeared to iſſue from the hand of a ſoldier's ſervant, that all the ſpectators thought it muſt be burnt, yet, when it was over, he found no harm; and one of the victims which Cæſar offered, was found without a heart. The latter was certainly a moſt alarming prodigy; for, according to the rules of nature, no creature can exiſt without a heart. What is ſtill more extraordinary, many report, that a certain ſoothſayer forewarned him of a great danger which threatened him on the ides of March, and that when the day was come, as he was going to the ſenate-houſe, he called to the ſoothſayer, and ſaid laughing, "The ides "of March are come;" to which he anſwered, ſoftly, "Yes: but they are not gone."

The evening before, he ſupped with Marcus Lepidus, and ſigned, according to cuſtom, a number of letters, as he ſat at table. While he was ſo employed, there aroſe a queſtion, "What kind of death was the beſt?" and Cæſar anſwering before them all, cried out, "A ſudden one." The ſame night, as he was in bed with his wife, the doors and windows of the room flew open at once. Diſturbed both with the noiſe and the light, he obſerved, by moonſhine, Calpurnia in a deep ſleep, uttering broken words and

* With ſome of the manuſcripts, we read ΚΤΥΠΟΥΣ νυκ]ωρ πολλαχȣ διαφερομενȣς. If the common reading, ΤΥΠΟΥΣ κ. τ. λ. be preferred, the ſenſe will be, *the ſpectres ſeen ſwimming about in the night.*

and inarticulate groans. She dreamed that ſhe was weeping over him, as ſhe held him, murdered, in her arms. Others ſay, ſhe dreamed that the * pinnacle was fallen, which, as Livy tells us, the ſenate had ordered to be erected upon Cæſar's houſe, by way of ornament and diſtinction; and that it was the fall of it which ſhe lamented and wept for. Be that as it may, next morning ſhe conjured Cæſar not to go out that day, if he could poſſibly avoid it, but to adjourn the ſenate; and, if he paid no ragard to her dreams, to have recourſe to ſome other ſpecies of divination, or to ſacrifices, for information as to his fate. This gave him ſome ſuſpicion and alarm; for he had never known before, in Calpurnia, any thing of the weakneſs or ſuperſtition of her ſex, though ſhe was now ſo much affected.

He therefore offered a number of ſacrifices, and, as the diviners found no auſpicious tokens in any of them, he ſent Antony to diſmiſs the ſenate. In the mean time, Decius Brutus †, ſurnamed Albinus, came in. He was a perſon in whom Cæſar placed ſuch confidence, that he had appointed him his ſecond heir, yet he was engaged in the conſpiracy with the other Brutus and Caſſius. This man, fearing that if Cæſar adjourned the ſenate to another day the affair might be diſcovered, laughed at the diviners, and told Cæſar he would be highly to blame, if, by ſuch a ſlight, he gave the ſenate an occaſion of complaint againſt him. "For they were met," he ſaid, "at his ſummons, "and came prepared with one voice to honour him with "the title of king in the provinces, and to grant that "he ſhould wear the diadem both by land and ſea every "where out of Italy. But if any one go and tell them, "now they have taken their places, they muſt go home "again, and return when Calpurnia happens to have "better dreams, what room will your enemies have to "launch out againſt you? Or who will hear your friends "when they attempt to ſhew, that this is not an open ſervitude on the one hand, and tyranny on the other?—If "you are abſolutely perſuaded that this is an unlucky day, "it is certainly better to go yourſelf, and tell them you "have

* The pinnacle was an ornament uſually placed upon the top of their temples, and was commonly adorned with ſome ſtatues of their gods, figures of victory, or other ſymbolical device.

† Plutarch finding a *D* prefixed to Brutus, took it for *Decius*; but his name was *Decimus Brutus*. See Appian and Suetonius.

" have ſtrong reaſon of putting off buſineſs till another " time." So ſaying, he took Cæſar by the hand, and led him out.

He was not gone far from the door, when a ſlave, who belonged to ſome other perſon, attempted to get up to ſpeak to him, but finding it impoſſible, by reaſon of the crowd that was about him, he made his way into the houſe, and putting himſelf into the hands of Calpurnia, deſired her to keep him ſafe till Cæſar's return, becauſe he had matters of great importance to communicate.

Artemidorus the Cnidian, who, by teaching the Greek eloquence, became acquainted with ſome of Brutus's friends, and had got intelligence of moſt of the tranſactions, approached Cæſar with a paper, explaining what he had to diſcover. Obſerving that he gave the papers, as faſt as he received them, to his officers, he got up as cloſe as poſſible, and ſaid, " Cæſar, read this to yourſelf, " and quickly; for it contains matters of great conſe- " quence, and of the laſt concern to you." He took it and attempted ſeveral times to read it, but was always prevented by one application or other. He therefore kept that paper, and that only in his hand, when he entered the houſe. Some ſay, it was delivered to him by another man, Artemidorus being kept from approaching him all the way by the crowd.

Theſe things might, indeed, fall out by chance; but as in the place where the ſenate was that day aſſembled, and which proved the ſcene of that tragedy, there was a ſtatue of Pompey, and it was an edifice which Pompey had conſecrated for an ornament to his theatre, nothing can be clearer than that ſome deity conducted the whole buſineſs, and directed the execution of it to that very ſpot. Even Caſſius himſelf, though inclined to the doctrines of Epicurus, turned his eye to the ſtatue of Pompey, and ſecretly invoked his aid, before the great attempt. The arduous occaſion, it ſeems, over-ruled his former ſentiments, and laid him open to all the influence of enthuſiaſm. Antony, who was a faithful friend to Cæſar, and a man of great ſtrength, was held in diſcourſe without by Brutus Albinus, who had contrived a long ſtory to detain him.

When Cæſar entered the houſe, the ſenate roſe to do him honour. Some of Brutus's accomplices came up behind

* By Caius Trebonius. So Plutarch ſays, in the Life of Brutus; Appian ſays the ſame; and Cicero too, in his ſecond Philippic.

hind his chair, and others before it, pretending to intercede, along with Metillius Cimber*, for the recal of his brother from exile. They continued their inſtances till he came to his ſeat. When he was ſeated he gave them a poſitive denial; and as they continued their importunities with an air of compulſion, he grew angry. Cimber †, then, with both hands, pulled his gown off his neck, which was the ſignal for the attack. Caſca gave him the firſt blow. It was a ſtroke upon the neck with his ſword, but the wound was not dangerous; for in the beginning of ſo tremendous an enterprize he was probably in ſome diſorder. Cæſar therefore turned upon him, and laid hold of his ſword. At the ſame time, they both cried out, the one in Latin, "Villain! Caſca! what doſt thou mean?" and the other in Greek, to his brother, "Brother, help!"

After ſuch a beginning, thoſe who knew nothing of the conſpiracy, were ſeized with conſternation and horror, inſomuch that they durſt neither fly, nor aſſiſt, nor even utter a word. All the conſpirators now drew their ſwords, and ſurrounded him in ſuch a manner, that whatever way he turned, he ſaw nothing but ſteel gleaming in his face, and met nothing but wounds. Like ſome ſavage beaſt attacked by the hunters, he found every hand lifted againſt him, for they all agreed to have a ſhare in the ſacrifice and a taſte of his blood. Therefore Brutus himſelf gave him a ſtroke in the groin. Some ſay, he oppoſed the reſt, and continued ſtruggling and crying out, till he perceived the ſword of Brutus; then he drew his robe over his face, and yielded to his fate. Either by accident, or puſhed thither by the conſpirators, he expired on the pedeſtal of Pompey's ſtatue, and dyed it with his blood: ſo that Pompey ſeemed to preſide over the work of vengeance, to tread his enemy under his feet and to enjoy his agonies. Thoſe agonies were great, for he received no leſs than three and twenty wounds. And many of the conſpirators wounded each other, as they were aiming their blows at him.

Cæſar thus deſpatched, Brutus advanced to ſpeak to the ſenate, and to aſſign his reaſons for what he had done, but they

* *Metillius* is plainly a corruption. Suetonius calls him *Cimber Tullius*. In Appian he is named *Atilius Cimber*, and there is a medal which bears that name; but that medal is believed to be ſpurious. Some call him Metellus Cimber; and others ſuppoſe we ſhould read M. Tullius Cimber.

† Here in the original it is Metillius again.

they could not bear to hear him; they fled out of the house, and filled the people with inexpressible horror aud dismay. Some shut up their houses; others left their shops and counters. All were in motion: One was running to see the spectacle; another running back. Antony and Lepidus, Cæsar's principal friends, withdrew, and hid themselves in other people's houses. Meantime Brutus and his confederates, yet warm from the slaughter, marched in a body with their bloody swords in their hands, from the senate-house to the capitol, not like men that fled, but with an air of gaiety and confidence, calling the people to liberty, and stopping to talk with every man of consequence whom they met. There were some who even joined them, and mingled with their train; desirous of appearing to have had a share in the action, and hoping for one in the glory. Of this number were Caius Octavius and Lentulus Spinther, who afterwards paid dear for their vanity; being put to death by Antony and young Cæsar. So that they gained not even the honour for which they lost their lives; for no body believed that they had any part in the enterprize; and they were punished, not for the deed, but for the will.

Next day Brutus, and the rest of the conspirators came down from the capitol, and addressed the people, who attended to their discourse, without expressing either dislike or approbation of what was done. But by their silence it appeared that they pitied Cæsar, at the same time that they revered Brutus. The senate passed a general amnesty; and to reconcile all parties, they decreed Cæsar divine honours, and confirmed all the acts of his dictatorship; while on Brutus and his friends they bestowed governments, and such honours as were suitable: So that it was generally imagined the commonwealth was firmly established again, and all brought into the best order.

But when, upon the opening of Cæsar's will, it was found that he had left every Roman citizen a considerable legacy, and they beheld the body, as it was carried through the *forum*, all mangled with wounds, the multitude could no longer be kept within bounds. They stopt the procession, and tearing up the benches, with the doors and tables, heaped them into a pile, and burnt the corpse there. Then snatching flaming brands from the pile, some ran to burn the houses of the assassins, while others ranged the city, to find the conspirators themselves, and tear them in

in pieces; but they had taken ſuch care to ſceure themſelves that they could not meet with one of them.

One Cinna, a friend of Cæſar's, had a ſtrange dream the preceding night. He dreamed (as they tell us) that Cæſar invited him to ſupper, and, upon his refuſal to go, caught him by the hand, and drew him after him, in ſpite of all the reſiſtance he could make. Hearing, however, that the body of Cæſar was to be burnt in the *forum*, he went to aſſiſt in doing him the laſt honours, though he had a fever upon him, the conſequence of his uneaſineſs about his dream. On his coming up, one of the populace aſked, "Who that was?" and having learned his name, told it his next neighbour. A report immediately ſpread through the whole company, that it was one of Cæſar's murderers; and, indeed, one of the conſpirators was named Cinna. The multitude taking this for the man, fell upon him, and tore him to pieces upon the ſpot. Brutus and Caſſius were ſo terrified at this rage of the populace, that, a few days after they left the city. An account of their ſubſequent actions, ſufferings, and death, may be found in the Life of Brutus.

Cæſar died at the age of fifty-ſix, and did not ſurvive Pompey above four years. His object was ſovereign power and authority, which he purſued through innumerable dangers, and by prodigious efforts he gained it at laſt. But he reaped no other fruit from it than an empty and an invidious title. It is true the Divine Power which conducted him through life, attended him after his death as his avenger, purſued and hunted out the aſſaſſins over ſea and land, and reſted not till there was not a man left, either of thoſe who dipt their hands in his blood, or of thoſe who gave their ſanction to the deed.

The moſt remarkable of natural events relative to this affair was, that Caſſius, after he had loſt the battle of Philippi, killed himſelf with the ſame dagger which he had made uſe of againſt Cæſar; and the moſt ſignal phænomenon in the heavens, was that of a great comet *, which

* "A comet made its appearance in the north, while we were celebrating the games in honour of Cæſar, and ſhone bright for ſeven days. It aroſe about the eleventh hour of the day, and was ſeen by all nations. It was commonly believed to be a ſign that the ſoul of Cæſar was admitted among the gods; for which reaſon we added a ſtar to the head of his ſtatue conſecrated ſoon after in the forum."
Fragm. Aug. Cæs, ap. Plin. l. ii. c. 25.

which shone very bright for seven nights after Cæsar's death, and then disappeared. To which we may add the fading of the sun's lustre; for his orb looked pale all that year; he rose not with a sparkling radiance, nor had the heat he afforded its usual strength. The air, of course, was dark and heavy, for want of that vigorous heat which clears and rarefies it; and the fruits were so crude and unconcocted, that they pined away and decayed, through the chillness of the atmosphere.

We have a proof still more striking that the assassination of Cæsar was displeasing to the gods, in the phantom that appeared to Brutus. The story of it is this: Brutus was on the point of transporting his army from Abydos to the opposite continent; and the night before he lay in his tent, awake, according to custom, and in deep thought about what might be the event of the war; for it was natural to him to watch great part of the night, and no general ever required so little sleep. With all his senses about him, he heard a noise at the door of his tent, and looking towards the light, which was now burnt very low, he saw a terrible appearance in the human form, but of prodigious stature and the most hideous aspect. At first he was struck with astonishment; but when he saw it neither did nor spoke any thing to him, but stood in silence by his bed, he asked it, "Who it was?" The spectre answered, "I am thy evil genius, Brutus; thou shalt see "me at Philippi." Brutus answered boldly, "I'll meet "thee there;" and the spectre immediately vanished.

Some time after, he engaged Antony and Octavius Cæsar at Philippi, and the first day was victorious, carrying all before him where he fought in person, and even pillaging Cæsar's camp. The night before he was to fight the second battle, the same spectre appeared to him again, but spoke not a word. Brutus, however, understood that his last hour was near, and courted danger with all the violence of despair. Yet he did not fall in the action; but seeing all lost, he retired to the top of a rock, where he presented his naked sword to his breast, and a friend, as they tell us, assisting the thrust, he died upon the spot*.

PHO-

* Whatever Plutarch's motive may have been, it is certain that he has given us a very inadequate and imperfect idea of the character of Cæsar. The life he has written is a confused jumble of facts, snatched from different historians, without order, consistency, regularity, or accuracy.

PHOCION.

DEMADES the orator, by ſtudying in his whole adminiſtration to pleaſe the Macedonians and Antipater, had great authority in Athens. When he found himſelf by that complaiſance often obliged to propoſe laws and make ſpeeches injurious to the dignity and virtue of his country, he uſed to ſay, "He was excuſable, becauſe he came to "the helm when the commonwealth was no more than a "wreck." This aſſertion, which in him was unwarrantable, was true enough when applied to the adminiſtration of Phocion. Demades was the very man who wrecked his country. He purſued ſuch a vicious plan both in his private and public conduct, that Antipater ſcrupled not to ſay of him when he was grown old, "That he was "like a ſacrificed beaſt, all conſumed except his tongue "and his paunch *." But the virtue of Phocion found a ſtrong and powerful adverſary in the times, and its glory was obſcured in the gloomy period of Greece's misfortunes. For Virtue is not ſo weak as Sophocles would make her, nor is the ſentiment juſt which he puts in the mouth of one of the perſons of his drama.

> —The firmeſt mind will fail
> Beneath misfortune's ſtroke, and, ſtunn'd, depart
> From its ſage plan of action †.

All

racy. He has left us none of thoſe finer and minuter traits, which, as he elſewhere juſtly obſerves, diſtinguiſh and characteriſe the man more than his moſt popular and ſplendid operations. He has written the life of Cæſar like a man under reſtraint; has ſkimmed over his actions, and ſhewn a manifeſt ſatisfaction when he could draw the attention of the reader to other characters and circumſtances, however inſignificant, or how often ſoever repeated by himſelf, in the narrative of other lives. Yet from the little light he has afforded us, and from the better accounts of other hiſtorians, we may eaſily diſcover, that Cæſar was a man of great and diſtinguiſhed virtues. Had he been as able in his political as he was in his military capacity, had he been capable of hiding, or even of managing that openneſs of mind, which was the connate attendant of his liberality and ambition, the laſt prevailing paſſion would not have blinded him ſo far, as to put ſo early a period to his race of glory.

* The tongue and the paunch were not burnt with the reſt of the victim. The paunch uſed to be ſtuffed and ſerved up at table, and the tongue was burnt on the altar at the end of the entertainment in honour of Mercury, and had libations poured upon it. Of this there are many examples in Homer's Odyſſey.

† Sophoc. Antig. l. 569, and 570.

All the advantage that Fortune can truly be affirmed to gain in her combats with the good and virtuous is, the bringing upon them unjuſt reproach and cenſure, inſtead of the honour and eſteem which are their due, and by that means leſſening the confidence the world would have in their virtue.

It is imagined, indeed, that when affairs proſper, the people, elated with their ſtrength and ſucceſs, behave with greater inſolence to good miniſters; but it is the very reverſe. Misfortunes always ſour their temper; the leaſt thing will then diſturb them; they take fire at trifles; and they are impatient of the leaſt ſeverity of expreſſion. He who reproves their faults, ſeems to reproach them with their misfortunes, and every bold and free addreſs is conſidered as an inſult. As honey makes a wounded or ulcerated member ſmart, ſo it often happens, that a remonſtrance, though pregnant with truth and ſenſe, hurts and irritates the diſtreſſed, if it is not gentle and mild in the application. Hence Homer often expreſſes ſuch things as are pleaſant, by the word *menoikes*, which ſignifies what is *ſymphonious to the mind*, what ſoothes its weakneſs, and bears not hard upon its inclinations. Inflamed eyes love to dwell upon dark brown colours, and avoid ſuch as are bright and glaring. So it is with a ſtate, in any ſeries of ill-conducted and unproſperous meaſures; ſuch is the feeble and relaxed condition of its nerves, that it cannot bear the the leaſt alarm; the voice of truth, which brings its faults to its rememberance, gives it inexpreſſible pain, though not only ſalutary, but neceſſary; and it will not be heard, except its harſhneſs is modified. It is a difficult taſk to govern ſuch a people; for, if the man who tells them the truth, falls the firſt ſacrifice, he who flatters them, at laſt periſhes with them.

The mathematicians ſay, the ſun does net move in the ſame direction with the heavens, nor yet in a direction quite oppoſite, but circulating with a gentle and almoſt inſenſible obliquity, gives the whole ſyſtem ſuch a temperature as tends to its preſervation. So in a ſyſtem of government, if a ſtateſman is determined to deſcribe a ſtraight line, and in all things to go againſt the inclinations of the people, ſuch rigour muſt make his adminiſtration odious; and, on the other hand, if he ſuffers himſelf to be carried along with their moſt erroneous motions, the government will ſoon be in a tottering and ruinous ſtate. The latter is

is the more common error of the two. But the politics which keep a middle course, sometimes slackening the reins, and sometimes keeping a tighter hand, indulging the people in one point to gain another that is more important, are the only measures that are formed upon rational principles: for a well-timed condescension and moderate treatment will bring men to concur in many useful schemes, which they could not be brought into by despotism and violence. It must be acknowledged, that this medium is difficult to hit upon, because it requires a mixture of dignity with gentleness; but when the just temperature is gained, it presents the happiest and most perfect harmony that can be conceived. It is by this sublime harmony the Supreme Being governs the world; for nature is not dragged into obedience to his commands, and tho' his influence is irresistible, it is rational and mild.

The effects of austerity were seen in the younger Cato There was nothing engaging or popular in his behaviour; he never studied to oblige the people, and therefore his weight in the administration was not great. Cicero says, "He acted as if he had lived in the commonwealth of "Plato, not in the dregs of Romulus, and by that means "fell short of the consulate*." His case appears to me to have been the same with that of fruit which comes out of season: people look upon it with pleasure and admiration, but they make no use of it. Thus the old-fashioned virtue of Cato, making its appearance amidst the luxury and corruption which time had introduced, had all the splendor of reputation which such a phænomenon could claim, but it did not answer the exigencies of the state; it was disproportioned to the times, and too ponderous and unwieldy for use. Indeed his circumstances were not altogether like those of Phocion, who came not into the administration till the state was sinking†; whereas Cato had only to save the ship beating about in the storm. At the same time we must allow that he had not the principal direction of her; he sat not at the helm; he could do no more

* The passage here referred to is in the first epistle of Cicero's second book to Atticus. But we find nothing there of the repulse Cato met with in his application for the consulship. That repulse, indeed, did not happen till eight years after the date of that epistle.

† Our author means, that uncommon and extraordinary efforts were more necessary to save the poor remains of a wreck, than to keep a ship, yet whole and entire, from sinking.

more than help to hand the ſails and the tackle. Yet he maintained a noble conflict with Fortune, who having determined to ruin the commonwealth, effected it by a variety of hands, but with great difficulty, by ſlow ſteps and gradual advances. So near was Rome being ſaved by Cato, and Cato's virtue! With it we would compare that of Phocion: not in a general manner, ſo as to ſay, they were both perſons of integrity, and able ſtateſmen; for there is a difference between valour and valour, for inſtance, between that of Alcibiades and that of Epaminondas; the prudence of Themiſtocles and that of Ariſtides were not the ſame; juſtice was of one kind in Numa, and in Ageſilaus of another: but the virtues of Phocion and Cato were the ſame in the moſt minute particular; their impreſſion, form and colour, are perfectly ſimilar. Thus their ſeverity of manners was equally tempered with humanity and their valour with caution; they had the ſame ſolicitude for others, and diſregard for themſelves; the ſame abhorrence of every thing baſe and diſhonourable, and the ſame firm attachment to juſtice on all occaſions: ſo that it requires a very delicate expreſſion, like the finely diſcriminated ſounds of the organ*, to mark the difference in their characters.

It is univerſally agreed, that Cato was of an illuſtrious pedigree, which we ſhall give ſome account of in his Life; and

* Ωςε λεπτου πανυ λογου δεισθαι, καθαπερ οργανου προς διοκρισιν και ανευρεσιν των διαφεροντων.

The organ here mentioned was probably that invented by Cteſibius, who, according to Athenæus, placed in the temple of Zephyrus, at Alexandria, a tube, which, collecting air by the appulſive motion of water, emitted muſical ſounds, either by their ſtrength adapted to war, or by their lightneſs to feſtivity. Hedylus, in his elegies, mentions this organ under the title of Κερας.

Ζωροποται καὶ τουτο φιλον ζεφυρου μετα νηον,
Θρεπτον μεν βασιλευς εισεθεσεν το κερας.
Σαλπιζον λυγιας του κρουνου προς ῥυσιν ἠχους
Δεινου καὶ πολεμου συνθεμα καὶ θαλιης.

Thus we ſee this inſtrument was capable of great variety and diſcrimination of harmony. Claudian has left us the following deſcription of this water organ:

Et qui magna levi detrudens murmura tactu,
Innumeras voces ſegetis moderatur alienæ.
Intonat errante digito, penituſque trabali
Vecte laborantes in carmina concitat undas.

Cornelius Severus ſays, *Ejus fuit generis qui aquarum aſſultu auram conciperet.* But its *ennumeræ voces*, as Claudian calls them, its variety of expreſſion, is undoubtedly the reaſon why Plutarch mentions it here.

and we conjecture, that Phocion's was not mean or obſcure: for had he been the ſon of a turner, it would certainly have been mentioned by Glaucippus, the ſon of Hyperides, among a thouſand other things, in the treatiſe which he wrote on purpoſe to diſparage him. Nor, if his birth had been ſo low, would he have had ſo good an education, or ſuch a liberal mind and manners. It is certain, that, when very young, he was in tuition with Plato, and afterwards with Xenocrates in the academy; and from the very firſt he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his ſtrong application to the moſt valuable ſtudies. Duris tells us, the Athenians never ſaw him either laugh or cry, or make uſe of a public bath, or put his hand from under his cloak when he was dreſſed to appear in public. If he made an excurſion into the country, or marched out to war, he went always bare-footed, and without his upper garment too, except it happened to be intolerably cold: and then his ſoldiers uſed to laugh, and ſay, "It is a ſign of a ſharp winter; Phocion has got "his clothes on."

He was one of the moſt humane and beſt-tempered men in the world, and yet he had ſo ill-natured and forbidding a look, that ſtrangers were afraid to addreſs him without company. Therefore, when Chares, the orator, obſerved to the Athenians, what terrible brows Phocion had, and they could not help making themſelves merry, he ſaid, "This "brow of mine never gave one of you an hour of ſorrow; "but the laughter of theſe ſneerers has coſt their country "many a tear." In like manner, though the meaſures he propoſed were happy ones, and his councils of the moſt ſalutary kind, yet he uſed no flowers of rhetoric; his ſpeeches were conciſe, commanding, and ſevere. For, as Zeno ſays, that a philoſopher ſhould never let a word come out of his mouth that is not ſtrongly tinctured with ſenſe; ſo Phocion's oratory contained the moſt ſenſe in the feweſt words. And it ſeems that Polyeuctus the Sphettian had this in view when he ſaid, "Demoſ-"thenes was the better orator, and Phocion the more "perſuaſive ſpeaker." His ſpeeches were to be eſtimated like coins, not for the ſize, but for the intrinſic value. Agreeably to which, we are told, that one day when the theatre was full of people, Phocion was obſerved behind the ſcenes wrapt up in thought, when one of his friends took occaſion to ſay, "What! at your meditations, Pho-"cion?" "Yes," ſaid he, "I am conſidering whether "I

"I cannot ſhorten what I have to ſay to the Athenians." And Demoſthenes, who deſpiſed the other orators, when Phocion got up, uſed to ſay ſoftly to his friends, "Here "comes the pruner of my periods." But perhaps this is to be aſcribed to the excellence of his character, ſince a word or a nod from a perſon revered for his virtue, is of more weight than the moſt elaborate ſpeeches of other men.

In his youth he ſerved under Chabrias, then commander of the Athenian armies; and, as he paid him all proper attention, he gained much military knowledge by him.—In ſome degree too he helped to correct the temper of Chabrias, which was impetuous and uneven. For that general, though at other times ſcarce any thing could move him, in time of action was violent, and expoſed his perſon with a boldneſs ungoverned by diſcretion. At laſt it coſt him his life, when he made it a point to get in before the other galleys to the iſle of Chios, and attempted to make good his landing by dint of ſword. Phocion, whoſe prudence was equal to his courage, animated him when he was too ſlow in his operations, and endeavoured to bring him to act cooly when he was unſeaſonably violent. This gained him the affection of Chabrias, who was a man of candour and probity; and he aſſigned him commiſſions and enterprizes of great importance, which raiſed him to the notice of the Greeks. Particularly in the ſea-fight off Naxos, Phocion being appointed to head the ſquadron on the left, where the action was hotteſt, had a fine opportunity to diſtinguiſh himſelf, and he made ſuch uſe of it, that victory ſoon declared for the Athenian; and as this was the firſt victory they had gained at ſea, in a diſpute with Greeks, ſince the taking of their city, they expreſſed the higheſt regard for Chabrias, and began to conſider Phocion as a perſon in whom they ſhould one day find an able commander. This battle was won during the celebration of the great myſteries; and Chabrias, in commemoration of it, annually treated the Athenians with wine on the ſixteenth day of September.

Some time after this, Chabrias ſent Phocion to the iſlands, to demand their contributions, and offered him a guard of twenty ſail. But Phocion ſaid, "If you ſend me againſt "enemies, ſuch a fleet is too ſmall; if to friends, one "ſhip is ſufficient." He therefore went in his own galley, and by addreſſing himſelf to the cities and magiſtrates in an open and humane manner, he ſucceeded ſo well, as to

 return

return with a number of ſhips which the allies fitted out, and at the ſame time put their reſpective quotas of money on board.

Phocion not only honoured and paid his court to Chabrias as long as he lived, but after his death, continued his attentions to all that belonged to him. With his ſon Cteſippus he took peculiar pains to form him to virtue; and though he found him very ſtupid and untractable, yet he ſtill laboured to correct his errors, as well as to conceal them. Once, indeed, his patience failed him. In one of his expeditions the young man was ſo troubleſome with unſeaſonable queſtions, and attempts to give advice, as if he knew how to direct the operations better than the general, that at laſt he cried out, "O Chabrias, Chabrias! what a "return do I make thee for thy favours, in bearing with "the impertinencies of thy ſon."

He obſerved, that thoſe who took upon them the management of public affairs, made two departments of them, the civil and the military, which they ſhared as it were by lot. Purſuant to this diviſion, Eubulus, Ariſtophon, Demoſthenes, Lycurgus, and Hyperides, addreſſed the people from the roſtrum, and propoſed new edicts; while Diophites, Meneſtheus, Leoſthenes, and Chares, raiſed themſelves by the honours and employments of the camp. But Phocion choſe rather to move in the walk of Pericles, Ariſtides, and Solon, who excelled not only as orators, but as generals; for he thought their fame more complete; each of theſe great men (to uſe the words of Archilochus) appearing juſtly to claim

> The palms of Mars, and laurels of the muſe:

and he knew that the tutelar goddeſs of Athens was equally the patroneſs of arts and arms.

Formed upon theſe models, peace and tranquillity were the great objects he had always in view; yet he was engaged in more wars than any perſon, either of his own, or of the preceding times. Not that he courted, or even applied for the command; but he did not decline it, when called to that honour by his country. It is certain, he was elected general no leſs than five and forty times, without once attending to the election; being always appointed in his abſence, at the free motion of his countrymen. Men of ſhallow underſtanding were ſurpriſed that the people ſhould ſet ſuch a value on Phocion, who generally oppoſed

posed their inclinations, and never said or did any thing with a view to recommend himself. For, as princes divert themselves at their meals with buffoons and jesters, so the Athenians attended to the polite and agreeable address of their orators by way of entertainment only; but when the question was concerning so important a business as the command of their forces, they returned to sober and serious thinking, and selected the wisest citizen, and the man of the severest manners, who had combated their capricious humours and desires the most. This he scrupled not to avow; for one day, when an oracle from Delphi was read in the assembly, importing, "That the rest of the "Athenians were unanimous in their opinions, and that "there was only one man who dissented from them," Phocion stepped up and told them, "They need not give "themselves any trouble in inquiring for this refractory "citizen, for he was the man who liked not any thing "they did." And another time in a public debate, when his opinion happened to be received with universal applause, he turned to his friends, and said, "Have I inad-"vertently let some bad thing slip from me?"

The Athenians were one day making a collection, to defray the charge of a public sacrifice, and numbers gave liberally. Phocion was importuned to contribute among the rest: but he bade them apply to the rich: "I should "be ashamed," said he, "to give you any thing, and not "to pay this man what I owe him;" pointing to the usurer Callicles. And as they continued very clamorous and teazing, he told them this tale: "A cowardly fellow "once resolved to make a campaign; but when he was "set out, the ravens began to croak, and he laid down "his arms and stopped. When the first alarm was a little "over, he marched again. The ravens renewed their "croaking, and then he made a full stop, and said, You "may croak your hearts out if you please, but you shall "not taste my carcase."

The Athenians once insisted on his leading them against the enemy, and when he refused, they told him, nothing could be more dastardly and spiritless than his behaviour. He answered, "You can neither make me valiant, nor can "I make you cowards: however, we know one another "very well."

Public affairs happening to be in a dangerous situation, the people were greatly exasperated against him, and demanded

manded an immediate account of his conduct. Upon which, he only said, "My good friends, first get out of "your difficulties."

During a war, however, they were generally humble and submissive, and it was not till after peace was made, that they began to talk in a vaunting manner, and to find fault with their general. As they were one time telling Phocion, he had robbed them of the victory which was in their hands, he said, "It is happy for you that you have "a general who knows you; otherwise you would have "been ruined long ago."

Having a difference with the Bœotians, which they refused to settle by treaty, and proposed to decide by the sword, Phocion said, "Good people, keep to the method "in which you have the advantage; and that is talking, "not fighting."

One day, determined not to follow his advice, they refused to give him the hearing. But he said, "Though "you can make me act against my judgment, you shall "never make me speak so."

Demosthenes, one of the orators of the adverse party, happening to say, "The Athenians will certainly kill thee, "Phocion, some time or other:" he answered, "They "may kill *me*, if they are mad; but it will be *you*, if they "are in their senses."

When Polyeuctus, the Sphettian, advised the Athenians to make war upon Philip, the weather being hot, and the orator a corpulent man, he ran himself out of breath, and perspired so violently, that he was forced to take several draughts of cold water, before he could finish his speech. Phocion, seeing him in such a condition, thus addressed the assembly—"You have great reason to pass an edict for "the war, upon this man's recommendation. For what "are you not to expect from him, when loaded with a suit "of armour, he marches against the enemy, if in deli-"vering to you (peaceable folks) a speech which he had "composed at his leisure, he is ready to be suffocated."

Lycurgus, the orator, one day said many disparaging things of him in the general assembly, and, among the rest, observed, that when Alexander demanded ten of their orators*, Phocion gave it as his opinion, that they should

* For πολιτων we should here read πολιτικων, as, a little above, we should read πολιτικων instead of πολιτων. That they were orators, which Alexander demanded, appears from Demosthenes, p. 430, 2.

ſhould be delivered to him. "It is true," ſaid Phocion, "I have given the people of Athens much good counſel, but they do not follow it."

There was then in Athens one Archibiades, who got the name of Laconiſtes, by letting his beard grow long, in the Lacedæmonian manner, wearing a thread-bare cloak, and keeping a very grave countenance. Phocion finding one of his aſſertions much contradicted in the aſſembly, called upon this man to ſupport the truth and rectitude of what he had ſaid. Archibiades, however, ranged himſelf on the people's ſide, and adviſed what he thought agreeable to them. Then Phocion, taking him by the beard, ſaid, "What is all this heap of hair for? Cut it, "cut it off."

Ariſtogiton, a public informer, paraded with his pretended valour before the people, and preſſed them much to declare war. But when the liſts came to be made out, of thoſe that were to ſerve, this ſwaggerer had got his leg bound up, and a crutch under his arm. Phocion, as he ſat upon the buſineſs, ſeeing him at ſome diſtance in this form, called out to his ſecretary, "to put down Ariſtogiton "a cripple and a coward."

All theſe ſayings have ſomething ſo ſevere in them, that it ſeems ſtrange that a man of ſuch auſtere and unpopular manners, ſhould ever get the ſurname of the *Good*. It is, indeed, difficult, but, I believe, not impoſſible, for the ſame man to be both rough and gentle, as ſome wines are both ſweet and ſour: and on the other hand, ſome men who have a great appearance of gentleneſs in their temper, are very harſh and vexatious to thoſe who have to do with them. In this caſe, the ſaying of Hyperides, to the people of Athens, deſerves notice: "Examine not whe- "ther I am ſevere upon you, but whether I am ſo for my "own ſake." As if it were avarice only that makes a miniſter odious to the people, and the abuſe of power to the purpoſes of pride, envy, anger, or revenge, did not make a man equally obnoxious.

As to Phocion, he never exerted himſelf againſt any man in his private capacity, or conſidered him as an enemy; but he was inflexibly ſevere againſt every man who oppoſed his motions and deſigns for the public good. His behaviour, in other reſpects, was liberal, benevolent, and humane; the unfortunate he was always ready to aſſiſt,

and

and he pleaded even for his enemy, if he happened to be in danger. His friends, one day, finding fault with him for appearing in behalf of a man whoſe conduct did not deſerve it; he ſaid, "The good have no need of an ad- "vocate." Ariſtogiton, the informer, being condemned, and committed to priſon, begged the favour of Phocion to go and ſpeak to him, and he hearkened to his application. His friends diſſuaded him from it, but he ſaid, "Let me alone, good people. Where can one rather wiſh "to ſpeak to Ariſtogiton than in a priſon?"

When the Athenians ſent out their fleets under any other commander, the maritime towns and iſlands in alliance with that people, looked upon every ſuch commander as an enemy; they ſtrengthened their walls, ſhut up their harbours, and conveyed the cattle, the ſlaves, the women, and children, out of the country into the cities. But when Phocion had the command, the ſame people went out to meet him in their own ſhips, with chaplets on their heads and every expreſſion of joy, and in that manner conducted him into their cities.

Philip endeavoured privately to get footing in Eubœa, and for that purpoſe ſent in forces from Macedon, as well as practiſed upon the towns by means of the petty princes. Hereupon, Plutarch of Eretria called in the Athenians, and intreated them to reſcue the iſland out of the hands of the Macedonians: in conſequence of which, they ſent Phocion at firſt with a ſmall body of troops, expecting that the Eubœans would immediately riſe and join him. But when he came, he found nothing among them but treaſonable deſigns and diſaffection to their own country, for they were corrupted by Philip's money. For this reaſon he ſeized an eminence * ſeparated from the plains of Tamynæ by a deep defile, and in that poſt he ſecured the beſt of his troops. As for the diſorderly, the talkative, and cowardly part of the ſoldiers, if they attempted to deſert and ſteal out of the camp, he ordered the officers to let them go. "For," ſaid he, "if they ſtay here, "ſuch is their want of diſcipline, that, inſtead of being "ſerviceable, they will be prejudicial in time of action; "and, as they will be conſcious to themſelves of flying "from

* Inſtead of αποκρυπτομενον here in the text, we ſhould read αποκεκομμενον. So ſays Du Soul: but we think αποκυπτομενον, *ſloping* or *ſloped*, which is nearer the text, is more likely to be the true reading.

"from their colours, we ſhall not have ſo much noiſe and "calumny from them in Athens."

Upon the approach of the enemy, he ordered his men to ſtand to their arms, but not attempt any thing, till he had made an end of his ſacrifice: and, whether it was that he wanted to gain time, or could not eaſily find the auſpicious tokens, or was deſirous of drawing the enemy nearer to him, he was long about it. Mean while Plutarch, imagining that this delay was owing to his fear and irreſolution, charged at the head of the mercenaries; and the cavalry ſeeing him in motion, could wait no longer, but advanced againſt the enemy, though in a ſcattered and diſorderly manner, as they happened to iſſue out of the camp. The firſt line being ſoon broken, all the reſt diſperſed, and Plutarch himſelf fled. A detachment from the enemy then attacked the entrenchments, and endeavoured to make a breach in them, ſuppoſing that the fate of the day was decided. But at that inſtant Phocion had finiſhed his ſacrifice, and the Athenians ſallying out of the camp, fell upon the aſſailants, routed them, and cut moſt of them in pieces in the trenches. Phocion then gave the main body directions to keep their ground, in order to receive and cover ſuch as were diſperſed in the firſt attack, while he, with a ſelect party, went and charged the enemy. A ſharp conflict enſued, both ſides behaving with great ſpirit and intrepidity. Among the Athenians, Thallus the ſon of Cineas, and Glaucus the ſon of Polymedes, who fought near the general's perſon, diſtinguiſhed themſelves the moſt. Cleophanes, too, did great ſervice in the action; for he rallied the cavalry, and brought them up again, by calling after them, and inſiſting that they ſhould come to the aſſiſtance of their general, who was in danger. They returned, therefore, to the charge; and by the aſſiſtance which they gave the infantry, ſecured the victory.

Phocion, after the battle, drove Plutarch out of Eretria, and made himſelf maſter of Zaretra, a fort, advantageouſly ſituated where the iſland draws to a point, and the neck of land is defended on each ſide by the ſea. He did not chooſe, in purſuance of his victory, to take the Greeks priſoners, leſt the Athenians, influenced by their orators, ſhould, in the firſt motions of reſentment, paſs ſome unequitable ſentence upon them.

After this great ſucceſs, he ſailed back to Athens. The allies ſoon found the want of his goodneſs and juſtice, and the

the Athenians ſaw his capacity and courage in a clear light. For Moloſſus, who ſucceeded him, conducted the war ſo ill, as to fall himſelf into the enemy's hands. Philip, now riſing in his deſigns and hopes, marched to the Helleſpont with all his forces, in order to ſeize at once on the Cherſoneſus, Perinthus, and Byzantium.

The Athenians determining to ſend ſuccours to that quarter, the orators prevailed upon them to give that commiſſion to Chares. Accordingly he ſailed to thoſe parts, but did nothing worthy of ſuch a force as he was intruſted with. The cities would not receive his fleet into their harbours; but, ſuſpected by all, he beat about, raiſing contributions where he could upon the allies, and, at the ſame time, was deſpiſed by the enemy. The orators, now taking the other ſide, exaſperated the people to ſuch a degree, that they repented of having ſent any ſuccours to the Byzantians. Then Phocion roſe up, and told them, "They ſhould not "be angry at the ſuſpicions of the allies, but at their own "generals, who deſerved not to have any confidence placed "in them. For on their account," ſaid he, "you are looked "upon with an eye of jealouſy, by the very people who "cannot be ſaved without your aſſiſtance." This argument had ſuch an effect on them, that they changed their minds again, and bade Phocion go himſelf with another armament to the ſuccour of the allies upon the Helleſpont.

This contributed more than any thing to the ſaving of Byzantium. Phocion's reputation was already great: beſides, Cleon, a man of eminence in Byzantium, who had formerly been well acquainted with him at the academy, pledged his honour to the city in his behalf. The Byzantians would then no longer let him encamp without, but opening their gates received him into their city, and mixed familiarly with the Athenians; who, charmed with this confidence, were not only eaſy with reſpect to proviſions, and regular in their behaviour, but exerted themſelves with great ſpirit in every action. By theſe means Philip was forced to retire from the Helleſpont, and he ſuffered not a little in his military reputation; for till then he had been deemed invincible. Phocion took ſome of his ſhips and recovered ſeveral cities which he had garriſoned; and making deſcents in various parts of his territories, he haraſſed and ravaged the flat country. But at laſt, happening to be wounded by a party that made head againſt him, he weighed anchor, and returned home.

Some time after this, the Megarenſians applied to him privately for aſſiſtance; and as he was afraid the matter would get air, and the Bœotians would prevent him, he aſſembled the people early in the morning, and gave them an account of the application. They had no ſooner given their ſanction to the propoſal, than he ordered the trumpets to ſound as a ſignal for them to arm; after which he marched immediately to Megara, where he was received with great joy. The firſt thing he did was to fortify Niſæa, and to build two good walls between the city and the port; by which means the town had a ſafe communication with the ſea, and having now little to fear from the enemy on the landſide, was ſecured in the Athenian intereſt.

The Athenians being now clearly in a ſtate of hoſtility with Philip, the conduct of the war was committed to other generals in the abſence of Phocion. But, on his return from the iſlands, he repreſented to the people, that as Philip was peaceably diſpoſed, and apprehenſive of the iſſue of the war, it was beſt to accept the conditions he had offered. And when one of thoſe public barreters, who ſpend their whole time in the court of Heliaca, and make it their buſineſs to form impeachments, oppoſed him, and ſaid, "Dare you, Phocion, pretend to diſſuade the Athenians "from war, now the ſword is drawn?" "Yes," ſaid he, "I dare; though I know thou wouldeſt be in my power "in time of war, and I ſhall be in thine in time of peace." Demoſthenes, however, carried it againſt him for war; which he adviſed the Athenians to make at the greateſt diſtance they could from Attica. This gave Phocion occaſion to ſay, "My good friend, conſider not ſo much "where we ſhall fight, as how we ſhall conquer. For "victory is the only thing that can keep the war at a diſ"tance: If we are beaten, every danger will ſoon be at "our gates."

The Athenians did loſe the day; after which, the moſt factious and troubleſome part of the citizens drew Charidemus to the huſtings, aud inſiſted that he ſhould have the command. This alarmed the real well-wiſhers to their country ſo much, that they called in the members of the Areopagus to their aſſiſtance; and it was not without many tears, and the moſt earneſt intreaties, that they prevailed upon the aſſembly to put their concerns in the hands of Phocion.

He was of opinion, that the other propofals of Philip fhould be readily accepted, becaufe they feemed to be dictated by humanity; but when Demades moved that Athens fhould be comprehended in the general peace, and, as one of the ftates of Greece, fhould have the fame terms with the other cities, Phocion faid, "It ought not to be agreed "to, till it was known what conditions Philip required." The times were againft him, however, and he was over-ruled. And when he faw the Athenians repented afterwards, becaufe they found themfelves obliged to furnifh Philip both with fhips of war, and cavalry, he faid, "This was the "thing I feared; and my oppofition was founded upon it. "But fince you have figned the treaty, you muft bear its "inconveniences without murmuring or defpondence; "remembering that your anceftors fometimes gave law to "their neighbours, and fometimes were forced to fubmit, "but did both with honour; and by that means faved "themfelves and all Greece."

When the news of Philip's death was brought to Athens, he would not fuffer any facrifices or rejoicings to be made on that account. "Nothing" faid he, "could fhew greater "meannefs of fpirit, than expreffions of joy on the death "of an enemy. What great reafon, indeed, is there for "it, when the army you fought with at Cheronæa, is lef-"fened only by one man."

Demofthenes gave into invectives againft Alexander when he was marching againft Thebes; the ill policy of which Phocion eafily perceived, and faid,

> "What boots the god likegiant to provoke,
> "Whofe arm may fink us at a fingle ftroke * ?"
>
> Pope, Odyff. 9.

"When you fee fuch a dreadful fire near you, would you "plunge Athens into it? For my part, I will not fuffer "you to ruin yourfelves, though your inclinations lie that "way; and to prevent every ftep of that kind is the end "I propofed in taking the command."

When Alexander had deftroyed Thebes, he fent the Athenians, and demanded that they fhould deliver up to him Demofthenes, Lycurgus, Hyperides, and Charidemus. The

* Thefe words are addreffed to Ulyffes by his companions, to reftrain him from provoking the giant, Polyphemus, after they were efcaped out of his cave, and got on board their fhip.

The whole aſſembly caſt their eyes upon Phocion, and called upon him often by name. At laſt he roſe up; and placing him by one of his friends, who had the greateſt ſhare in his confidence and affection, he expreſſed himſelf as follows: "The perſons whom Alexander demands, "have brought the commonwealth into ſuch miſerable "circumſtances, that if he demanded even my friend Ni-"cocles, I ſhould vote for delivering him up. For my "own part, I ſhould think it the greateſt happineſs to die "for you all. At the ſame time, I am not without com-"paſſion for the poor Thebans who have taken refuge "here; but it is enough for Greece to weep for Thebes, "without weeping for Athens too. The beſt meaſure, "then, we can take is, to intercede with the conqueror "for both, and by no means to think of fighting."

The firſt decree drawn up in conſequence of theſe deliberations, Alexander is ſaid to have rejected, and to have turned his back upon the deputies: but the ſecond he received, becauſe it was brought by Phocion, who, as his old counſellors informed him, ſtood high in the eſteem of his father Philip. He, therefore, not only gave him a favourable audience, and granted his requeſt, but even liſtened to his counſel. Phocion adviſed him, "If tranquillity "was his object, to put an end to his wars; if glory, to "leave the Greeks in quiet, and turn his arms againſt the "barbarians." In the courſe of their conference he made many obſervations ſo agreeable to Alexander's diſpoſition and ſentiments, that his reſentment againſt the Athenians was perfectly appeaſed, and he was pleaſed to ſay, "The people of Athens muſt be very attentive to the af-"fairs of Greece; for, if any thing happens to me, the "ſupreme direction will devolve upon them." With Phocion in particular he entered into obligations of friendſhip and hoſpitality, and did him greater honours than moſt of his own courtiers were indulged with. Nay, Duris tells us, that after that prince was riſen to ſuperior greatneſs, by the conqueſt of Darius, and had left out the word *chairein*, the common form of ſalutation in his addreſs to others, he ſtill retained it in writing to Phocion, and to nobody beſides, except Antipater. Chares aſſerts the ſame.

As to his munificence to Phocion, all agree that he ſent him a hundred talents. When the money was brought to Athens, Phocion aſked the perſons employed in that commiſſion,

mission, "Why, among all the citizens of Athens, he "should be singled out as the object of such bounty?" "Because," said they, "Alexander looks upon you as the "only honest and good man." "Then," said Phocion, "let "him permit me always to retain that character, as well as "really to be that man." The convoys then went home with him, and when they saw the frugality that reigned there, his wife baking bread, himself drawing water, and afterwards washing his own feet, they urged him the more to receive the present. They told him, "It gave them real "uneasiness, and was indeed an intolerable thing, that the "friend of so great a prince should live in such a wretched manner." At that instant, a poor old man happening to pass by, in a mean garment, Phocion asked the envoys, "Whether they thought worse of him, than of that "man?" As they begged of him not to make such a comparison, he rejoined. "Yet that man lives upon less "than I do, and is contented. In one word, it will be "to no purpose for me to have so much money, if I do "not use it; and if I was to live up to it, I should bring "both myself, and the king, your master, under the censure "of the Athenians." Thus the money was carried back from Athens, and the whole transaction was a good lesson to the Greeks, *That the man who did not want such a sum of money, was richer than he who could bestow it.*

Displeased at the refusal of his present, Alexander wrote to Phocion, "That he could not number those among his "friends, who would not receive his favours." Yet Phocion even then would not take the money. However, he desired the king to set at liberty Echecratides the sophist, and Athenodorus the Iberian, as also Demaratus and Sparto, two Rhodians, who were taken up for certain crimes, and kept in custody at Sardis. Alexander granted his request immediately; and afterwards, when he sent Craterus into Macedonia, ordered him to give Phocion his choice of one of these four cities in Asia, Cios, Gergithus, Mylassa, or Elæa. At the same time he was to assure him, that the king would be much more disobliged, if he refused this second offer. But Phocion was not to be prevailed upon, and Alexander died soon after.

Phocion's house is shewn to this day in the borough of Melita, adorned with some plates of copper, but otherwise plain and homely.

Of his firſt wife we have no account, except that ſhe was ſiſter to Cephiſodotus the ſtatuary. The other was a matron, no leſs celebrated among the Athenians for her modeſty, prudence, and ſimplicity of manners, than Phocion himſelf was for his probity. It happened one day, when ſome new tragedians were to act before a full audience, one of the players, who was to perſonate the queen, demanded a ſuitable maſk (and attire), together with a large train of attendants, richly dreſſed; and, as all theſe things were not granted him, he was out of humour, and refuſed to make his appearance; by which means the whole buſineſs of the theatre was at a ſtand. But Melanthius, who was at the charge of the exhibition, puſhed him in, and ſaid, "Thou ſeeſt the wife of Phocion appear in "public with one maid-ſervant only, and doſt thou come "here to ſhew thy pride, and to ſpoil our women?" As Melanthius ſpoke loud enough to be heard, the audience received what he had ſaid with a thunder of applauſe. When this ſecond wife of Phocion entertained in her houſe an Ionian lady, one of her friends, the lady ſhewed her her bracelets and necklaces, which had all the magnificence that gold and jewels could give them. Upon which, the good matron ſaid, "Phocion is my ornament, who is "now called the twentieth time to the command of the "Athenian armies."

The ſon of Phocion was ambitious of trying his ſkill in the games of the *panathenæa* *, and his father permitted him to make the trial, on condition that it was in the foot races: not that he ſet any value upon the victory, but he did it that the preparations and previous exerciſe might be of ſervice to him; for the young man was of a diſorderly turn, and addicted to drinking. Phocus (that was his name) gained the victory, and a number of his acquaintance deſired to celebrate it by entertainments at their houſes; but that favour was granted only to one. When Phocion came to the houſe, he ſaw every thing prepared in the moſt extravagant manner, and, among the reſt, that wine mingled with ſpices was provided for waſhing the feet of the gueſts. He therefore called his ſon to him, and ſaid, "Phocus, why do you ſuffer your friend thus to ſully "the honour of your victory †?"

In

* See the Life of Theſeus.

† The victory was obtained by means of abſtemiouſneſs and laborious exerciſe; to which ſuch indulgences were quite contrary.

In order to correct in his son entirely that inclination to luxury, he carried him to Lacedæmon, and put him among the young men who were brought up in all the rigour of the ancient discipline. This gave the Athenians no little offence, because it shewed in what contempt he held the manners and customs of his own country. Demades, one day, said to him, " Why do not we, Phocion, persuade the people to adopt the Spartan form of government? If you choose it, I will propose a decree for it, " and support it in the best manner I am able." " Yes " indeed," said Phocion. " It would become you much " with all those perfumes about you, and that pride of " dress, to launch out in praise of Lycurgus and the Lacedæmonian frugality."

Alexander wrote to the Athenians for a supply of ships, and the orators opposing it, the senate asked Phocion his opinion. " I am of opinion," said he, " that you should " either have the sharpest sword, or keep upon good terms " with those who have."

Pytheas the orator, when he first began to speak in public, had a torrent of words and the most consummate assurance. Upon which, Phocion said, " Is it for thee to prate " so, who art but a novice amongst us?"

When Harpalus had traitorously carried off Alexander's treasures from Babylon, and came with them from Asia to Attica, a number of the mercenary orators flocked to him, in hopes of sharing in the spoil. He gave these some small taste of his wealth, but to Phocion he sent no less than seven hundred talents; assuring him at the same time, that he might command his whole fortune, if he would take him into his protection. But his messengers found a disagreeable reception: Phocion told them, that " Harpalus should repent it, if he continued thus to corrupt " the city," And the traitor, dejected at his disappointment, stopped his hand. A few days after a general assembly being held on this affair, he found that the men who had taken his money, in order to exculpate themselves, accused him to the people; while Phocion, who would accept of nothing, was inclined to serve him, as far as might be consistent with the public good. Harpalus, therefore, paid his court to him again, and took every method to shake his integrity, but he found the fortress on all sides impregnable. Afterwards he applied to Charicles, Phocion's son-in-law, and his success with him gave just cause of

of offence; for all the world ſaw how intimate he was with him, and that all his buſineſs went through his hands. Upon the death of his miſtreſs Pythionice, who had brought him a daughter, he even employed Charicles to get a ſuperb monument built for her, and for that purpoſe furniſhed him with vaſt ſums. This commiſſion, diſhonourable enough in itſelf, became more ſo by the manner in which he acquitted himſelf of it. For the monument is ſtill to be ſeen at Hermos, on the road between Athens and Eleuſis; and there appears nothing in it anſwerable to the charge of thirty talents, which was the account that Charicles brought in*. After the death of Harpalus, Charicles and Phocion took his daughter under their guardianſhip, and educated her with great care. At laſt, Charicles was called to account by the public for the money he had received of Harpalus; and he deſired Phocion to ſupport him with his intereſt, and to appear with him in the court. But Phocion anſwered, "I made you my ſon-in-law only for juſt and "honourable purpoſes."

The firſt perſon that brought the news of Alexander's death, was Aſclepiades the ſon of Hipparchus. Demades deſired the people to give no credit to it; "For," ſaid he, "if Alexander were dead, the whole world would ſmell "the carcaſe." And Phocion ſeeing the Athenians elated, and inclined to raiſe new commotions, endeavoured to keep them quiet. Many of the orators, however aſcended the roſtrum, and aſſured the people, that the tidings of Aſclepiades were true: "Well then," ſaid Phocion, "if "Alexander is dead to-day, he will be ſo to morrow and "the day following; ſo that we may deliberate on that "event at our leiſure, and take our meaſures with ſafety."

When Leoſthenes, by his intrigues, had involved Athens in the Lamian war, and ſaw how much Phocion† was diſpleaſed at it, he aſked him in a ſcoffing manner, "What "good he had done his country, during the many years "that

* Yet Pauſanias ſays, it was one of the completeſt and moſt curious performances of all the ancient works in Greece. According to him, it ſtood on the other ſide of the river Cephiſus.

† In the original it is the *Grecian* war; and it might, indeed, be ſo called, becauſe it was carried on by the Grecian confederates againſt the Macedonians. But it was commonly called the *Lamian* war, from Antipater's being defeated, and ſhut up in Lamia. The Bœotians were the only nation which did not join the Grecian league. DIODOR. SIC. lib. xviii.

"that he was general?" "And doſt thou think it nothing, "then," ſaid Phocion, "for the Athenians to be buried in "the ſepulchres of their anceſtors!" As Leoſthenes continued to harangue the people in the moſt arrogant and pompous manner, Phocion ſaid, "Young man, your "ſpeeches are like cypreſs trees, large and lofty, but "without fruit." Hyperides roſe up and ſaid, "Tell us "then, what will be the proper time for the Athenians to "go to war?" Phocion anſwered, "I do not think it "adviſeable, till the young men keep within the bounds "of order and propriety, the rich become liberal in their "contributions, and the orators forbear robbing the "public."

Moſt people admired the forces raiſed by Leoſthenes; and when they aſked Phocion his opinion of them, he ſaid, "I like them very well for a ſhort race*, but I dread "the conſequence of a long one. The ſupplies, the ſhips, "the ſoldiers, are all very good; but they are the laſt we "can produce." The event juſtified his obſervation. Leoſthenes at firſt gained great reputation by his achievements; for he defeated the Bœotians in a pitched battle, and drove Antipater into Lamia. On this occaſion the Athenians, borne upon the tide of hope, ſpent their time in mutual entertainments, and in ſacrifices to the gods. Many of them thought, too, they had a fine opportunity to play upon Phocion, and aſked him, "Whether he "ſhould not have wiſhed to have done ſuch great things?" "Certainly I ſhould," ſaid Phocion; "but ſtill I ſhould "adviſe not to have attempted them." And when letters and meſſengers from the army came one after another, with an account of farther ſucceſs, he ſaid, "When we "ſhall have done conquering?"

Leoſthenes died ſoon after; and the party which was for continuing the war, fearing that if Phocion was elected general, he would be for putting an end to it, inſtructed a man that was little known, to make a motion in the aſſembly, importing, "That, as an old friend and ſchool-"fellow of Phocion, he deſired the people to ſpare him, "and preſerve him for the moſt preſſing occaſions, be-"cauſe

* Or rather, "I think they may run very well from the ſtarting "poſt to the extremity of the courſe: but I know not how they will "hold it back again." The Greeks had two ſorts of races; the *ſtadium*, in which they ran only right out to the goal; and the *dolichus*, in which they ran right out, and then back again.

" cauſe there was not another man in their dominions to " be compared to him." At the ſame time he was to recommend Antiphilus for the command. The Athenians embracing the propoſal, Phocion ſtood up and told them, " He never was that man's ſchool-fellow, nor had he any " acquaintance with him, but from this moment:" ſaid he, turning to him, " I ſhall number thee amongſt my beſt " friends, ſince thou haſt adviſed what is moſt agreeable " to me."

The Athenians were ſtrongly inclined to proſecute the war with the Bœotians, and Phocion at firſt as ſtrongly oppoſed it. His friends repreſented to him, that this violent oppoſition of his would provoke them to put him to death, " They may do it, if they pleaſe," ſaid he: " It " will be unjuſtly, if I adviſe them for the beſt; but juſtly, " if I ſhould prevaricate." However, when he ſaw that they were not to be perſuaded, and that they continued to beſiege him with clamour, he ordered a herald to make proclamation, " That all the Athenians, who were not " more than ſixty years above the age of puberty, ſhould " take five days proviſions, and follow him immediately " from the aſſembly to the field."

This raiſed a great tumult, and the old men began to exclaim againſt the order, and to walk off. Upon which, Phocion ſaid, " Does this diſturb you, when I, who am " fourſcore years old, ſhall be at the head of you?" That ſhort remonſtrance had its effect; it made them quiet and tractable. When Micon marched a conſiderable corps of Macedonians and mercenaries to Rhamnus, and ravaged the ſea-coaſt and the adjacent country, Phocion advanced againſt him with a body of Athenians. On this occaſion a number of them were very impertinent in pretending to dictate or adviſe him how to proceed. One counſelled him to ſecure ſuch an eminence, another to ſend his cavalry to ſuch a poſt, and a third pointed out a place for a camp. " Heavens!" ſaid Phocion, " how many generals we " have, and how few ſoldiers!"

When

* Τȣς αχρι ἑξηκοντα ετων αφ᾽ ἡϐης has commonly been underſtood to mean *from fourteen to ſixty*; but it appears from the following paſſage, that it ſhould be underſtood as we have rendered it. Ὁ γαρ Αγησιλαος, ὡς ετη τεσσαρακοντα γεγονως αφ᾽ ἡϐης, και ϛρατειας εχειν αφεσιν ὑπο των νομων.

Vit. Ageſ. in Ed. Bryan. vol. iii. p. 396.

When he had drawn up his army, one of the infantry advanced before the ranks; but when he ſaw an enemy ſtepping out to meet him, his heart failed him, and he drew back to his poſt. Whereupon Phocion ſaid, "Young "man, are not you aſhamed to deſert your ſtation twice "in one day; that in which I had placed you, and that "in which you had placed yourſelf?" Then he immediately attacked the enemy, routed them, and killed great numbers, among whom was their general Micion. The confederate army of the Greeks in Theſſaly likewiſe defeated Antipater in a great battle *, though Leonatus and the Macedonians from Aſia had joined him. In this action Antiphilus commanded the foot, and Menon the Theſſalian horſe: Leonatus was among the ſlain.

Soon after this, Craterus paſſed over from Aſia with a numerous army, and another battle was fought, in which the Greeks were worſted. The loſs, indeed, was not great; and it was principally owing to the diſobedience of the ſoldiers, who had young officers that did not exert a proper authority. But this, joined to the practice of Antipater upon the cities, made the Greeks deſert the league, and ſhamefully betray the liberty of their country. As Antipater marched directly towards Athens, Demoſthenes and Hyperides fled out of the city. As for Demades, he had not been able, in any degree, to anſwer the fines that had been laid upon him; for he had been amerced ſeven times for propoſing edicts contrary to law. He had alſo been declared infamous, and incapable of ſpeaking in the aſſembly. But now finding himſelf at full liberty, he moved for an order that ambaſſadors ſhould be ſent to Antipater with full powers to treat of peace. The people, alarmed at their preſent ſituation, called for Phocion, declaring that he was the only man they could truſt. Upon which he ſaid, "If you had followed the counſel I gave "you, we ſhould not have had now to deliberate on ſuch "an

* There is a moſt egregious error here in the former Engliſh verſion. The tranſlator makes Phocion fight the Greeks, his own confederates in Theſſaly. Το δε Ἑλληνικον εν Θετταλια ϛρατευμα, συμμιξαντος Αντιπατρω Λεοννατȣ, και των εξ Ασιας Μακεδονων, ενικα μαχομενον This he renders, *Afterwards he defeated the Grecian army that lay in Theſſaly, wherein Leonnatus had joined himſelf with Antipater and the Macedonians that newly came out of Aſia.* Thus *Phocion* is miſtaken for the nominative caſe to ενικα, whereas Ελλενικον ϛτρατευμα is plainly the nominative.

"an affair." Thus the decree paſſed, and Phocion was deſpatched to Antipater, who then lay with his army in Cadmea *, and was preparing to enter Attica.

His firſt requiſition was, that Antipater would finiſh the treaty before he left the camp in which he then lay. Craterus ſaid, it was an unreaſonable demand; that they ſhould remain there to be troubleſome to their friends and allies, when they might ſubſiſt at the expence of their enemies. But Antipater took him by the hand, and ſaid, "Let "us indulge Phocion ſo far." As to the conditions, he inſiſted that the Athenians ſhould leave them to him, as he had done at Lamia to their general Leoſthenes.

Phocion went and reported this preliminary to the Athenians, which they agreed to out of neceſſity; and then returned to Thebes, with other ambaſſadors; the principal of whom was Xenocrates the philoſopher. For the virtue and reputation of the latter were ſo great and illuſtrious, that the Athenians thought there could be nothing in human nature ſo inſolent, ſavage, and ferocious, as not to feel ſome impreſſions of reſpect and reverence at the ſight of him. It happened, however, otherwiſe with Antipater, through his extreme brutality and antipathy to virtue; for he embraced the reſt with great cordiality, but would not even ſpeak to Xenocrates; which gave him occaſion to ſay, "Antipater does well in being aſhamed before me, and me "only, of his injurious deſigns againſt Athens."

Xenocrates afterwards attempted to ſpeak, but Antipater, in great anger, interrupted him, and would not ſuffer him to proceed †. To Phocion's diſcourſe, however, he gave attention; and anſwered, that he ſhould grant the Athenians peace, and conſider them as his friends, on the following

* Dacier, without any neceſſity, ſuppoſes that Plutarch uſes the word *Cadmea* for Bœotia. In a poetical way it is, indeed, capable of being underſtood ſo; but it is plain from what follows, that Antipater then lay at Thebes, and probably in the Cadmea or citadel.

† Yet he had behaved to him with great kindneſs, when he was ſent to ranſom the priſoners. Antipater, on that occaſion, took the firſt opportunity to invite him to ſupper; and Xenocrates anſwered in thoſe verſes of Homer, which Ulyſſes addreſſed to Circe, who preſſed him to partake of the delicacies ſhe had provided—

> Ill fits it me, whoſe friends are ſunk to beaſts,
> To quaff thy bowls, and riot in thy feaſts.
> Me wouldſt thou pleaſe? For them thy cares employ;
> And them to me reſtore, and me to joy.

Antipater was ſo charmed with the happy application of theſe verſes, that he releaſed all the priſoners.

following conditions: "In the first place," said he, "they "must deliver up to me Demosthenes and Hyperides. In "the next place, they must put their government on the "ancient footing, when none but the rich were advanced "to the great offices of state. A third article is, that they "must receive a garrison into Munychia: And a fourth, "that they must pay the expences of the war." All the new deputies, except Xenocrates, thought themselves happy in these conditions. That philosopher said, "Antipater deals favourably with us, if he considers us as "slaves; but hardly, if he looks upon us as freemen." Phocion begged for a remission of the article of the garrison; and Antipater is said to have answered, "Phocion, "we will grant thee every thing, except what would be "the ruin of both us and thee." Others say, that Antipater asked Phocion, "Whether, if he excused the Athenians as to the garrison, he would undertake for their "observing the other articles, and raising no new commotions?" As Phocion hesitated at this question, Callimedon, surnamed Carabus, a violent man, and an enemy to popular government, started up and said, "Antipater, "why do you suffer this man to amuse you? If he should "give you his word, would you depend upon it, and not "abide by your first resolutions?

Thus the Athenians were obliged to receive a Macedonian garrison, which was commanded by Menyllus, a man of great moderation, and the friend of Phocion. But that precaution appeared to be dictated by a wanton vanity; rather an abuse of power to the purposes of insolence, than a measure necessary for the conqueror's affairs *. It was more severely felt by the Athenians, on account of the time the garrison entered; which was the twentieth of the month September †, when they were celebrating the great mysteries, and the very day that they carried the god Bacchus in procession from the city to Eleusis. The disturbances they saw in the ceremonies gave many of the people occasion to reflect on the difference of the divine dispensations with respect to Athens in the present and in ancient times.

* Our author in this place seems to be out in his politics, though in general a very able and refined politician. For what but a garrison could have supported an oligarchy among a nation so much in love with popular government, or have restrained them from taking up arms the first opportunity?

† Boëdromion.

times. "Formerly," ſaid they, "myſtic viſions were ſeen, "and voices heard, to the great happineſs of the re-"public, and the terror and aſtoniſhment of our enemies. "But now, during the ſame ceremonies, the gods look "without concern upon the ſevereſt misfortunes that can "happen to Greece, and ſuffer the holieſt, and what was "once the moſt agreeable time in the year, to be pro-"faned, and rendered the date of our greateſt cala-"mities."

A few days before, the Athenians had received an oracle from Dodona, which warned them to ſecure the promontories of Diana againſt ſtrangers *. And about this time, upon waſhing the ſacred fillets with which they bind the myſtic beds, inſtead of the lively purple they uſed to have, they changed to a faint dead colour. What added to the wonder was, that all the linen belonging to private perſons, which was waſhed in the ſame water, retained its former luſtre. And as a prieſt was waſhing a pig in that part of the port called *Cantharus* †, a large fiſh ſeized the hinder parts, and devoured them as far as the belly; by which the gods plainly announced, that they would loſe the lower parts of the city next the ſea, and keep the upper.

The garriſon commanded by Menyllus, did no ſort of injury to the citizens. But the number excluded, by another article of the treaty, on account of their poverty, from a ſhare in the government, was upwards of twelve thouſand. Such of theſe as appeared in Athens, appeared to be in a ſtate of miſery and diſgrace; and ſuch as migrated to a city and lands in Thrace, aſſigned them by Antipater, looked upon themſelves as no better than a conquered people tranſported into a foreign country.

The death of Demoſthenes in Calauria, and that of Hyperides at Cleonæ, of which we have given an account in another place, made the Athenians remember Alexander and Philip with a regret which ſeemed almoſt inſpired by affection.

* Suppoſed to be poetically ſo called, becauſe mountainous places and foreſts were ſacred to that goddeſs. At leaſt, we know of no promontories in Attica that went under that name.

† In the text it is εν καθαρω λιμενι, *in a clean part of the harbour*. But we chooſe to receive the correction which Florent. Chriſtian has given us in his notes upon Ariſtophanes's comedy called *Peace*. There were three havens in the Piræus, the principal of which was called *Cantharus*. The paſſage in Ariſtophanes is this.—

Εν πειραιω δη πεσι κανθαρε λιμην.

affection *. The case was the same with them now, as it was with the countryman afterwards upon the death of Antigonus. Those who killed that prince, and reigned in his stead, were so oppressive and tyrannical, that a Phrygian peasant, who was digging the ground, being asked what he was seeking, said, with a sigh, "I am seek-"ing for Antigonus." Many of the Athenians expressed equal concern, now, when they remembered the great and generous turn of mind in those kings, and how easily their anger was appeased: whereas Antipater, who endeavoured to conceal his power under the mask of a private man, a mean habit, and a plain diet, was infinitely more rigorous to those under his command; and, in fact, an oppressor and a tyrant. Yet, at the request of Phocion, he recalled many persons from exile; and to such as he did not choose to restore to their own country, granted a commodious situation; for, instead of being forced to reside, like other exiles, beyond the Ceraunian mountains, and the promontory of Tænarus, he suffered them to remain in Greece, and settle in Peloponnesus. Of this number was Agnonides the informer.

In some other instances he governed with equity. He directed the police of Athens in a just and candid manner; raising the modest and the good to the principal employments; and excluding the uneasy and the seditious from all offices; so that having no opportunity to excite troubles, the spirit of faction died away; and he taught them by little and little to love the country, and apply themselves to agriculture. Observing one day that Xenocrates paid a tax as a stranger, he offered to make him a present of his freedom; but he refused it, and assigned this reason—"I will never be a member of that government, to pre-"vent the establishment of which I acted in a public "character."

Menyllus was pleased to offer Phocion a considerable sum of money. But he said, "Neither is Menyllus a "greater man than Alexander; nor have I greater reason "to receive a present now, than I had then." The governor pressed him to take it at least for his son Phocus; but he answered, "If Phocus becomes sober, his father's "estate

* The cruel disposition of Antipater, who had insisted upon Demosthenes and Hyperides being given up to his revenge, made the conduct of Philip and Alexander comparatively amiable.

"estate will be sufficient for him; and if he continues "dissolute, nothing will be so." He gave Antipater a more severe answer, when he wanted him to do something inconsistent with his probity. Antipater," said he, "cannot have me both for a friend and a flatterer." And Antipater himself used to say, "I have two friends in "Athens, Phocion and Demades; it is impossible either "to persuade the one to any thing, or to satisfy the other." Indeed, Phocion, had his poverty to shew as a proof of his virtue; for, though he so often commanded the Athenian armies, and was honoured with the friendship of so many kings, he grew old in indigence; whereas Demades paraded with his wealth even in instances that were contrary to law: for there was a law at Athens, that no foreigner should appear in the chorusses upon the stage, under the penalty of a thousand *drachmas*, to be paid by the person who gave the entertainment. Yet Demades, in his exhibition, produced none but foreigners; and he paid the thousand *drachmas* fine for each, though their number was a hundred. And when his son Demea was married, he said, "When I married your mother, the next neigh-"bour hardly knew it; but kings and princes contribute "to the expence of your nuptials."

The Athenians were continually importuning Phocion to persuade Antipater to withdraw the garrison; but whether it was that he despaired of success, or rather because he perceived that the people were more sober and submissive to government, under fear of that rod, he always declined the commission. The only thing that he asked and obtained of Antipater was, that the money which the Athenians were to pay for the charges of the war, should not be insisted on immediately, but a longer term granted. The Athenians, finding that Phocion would not meddle with the affair of the garrison, applied to Demades, who readily undertook it. In consequence of this, he and his son took a journey to Macedonia. It should seem, his evil genius led him thither; for he arrived just at the time when Antipater was in his last illness; and when Cassander, now absolute master of every thing, had intercepted a letter written by Demades to Antigonus in Asia, inviting him to come over and seize Greece and Macedonia, "which," he said, "hung only upon an old rotten "stalk;" so he contemptuously called Antipater. Cassander no sooner saw him, than he ordered him to be ar-

 rested

rested; and first he killed his son before his eyes, and so near, that the blood spouted upon him, and filled his bosom; then, after having reproached him with his ingratitude and perfidiousness, he slew him likewise.

Antipater, a little before his death, had appointed Polyperchon general, and given Cassander the command of a thousand men. But Cassander, far from being satisfied with such an appointment, hastened to seize the supreme power, and immediately sent Nicanor to take the command of the garrison from Menyllus, and to secure Munychia before the news of his father's death got abroad. This scheme was carried into execution; and, a few days after, the Athenians being informed of the death of Antipater, accused Phocion of being privy to that event, and concealing it out of friendship to Nicanor. Phocion, however, gave himself no pain about it; on the contrary, he conversed familiary with Nicanor; and, by his assiduities, not only rendered him kind and obliging to the Athenians, but inspired him with an ambition to distinguish himself by exhibiting games and shews to the people.

Mean time Polyperchon, to whom the care of the king's person was committed *, in order to countermine Cassander, wrote letters to the Athenians, importing, "That the king restored them their ancient form of government;" according to which, all the people had a right to public employments. This was a snare he laid for Phocion. For, being desirous of making himself master of Athens (as soon appeared from his actions), he was sensible that he could not effect any thing while Phocion was in the way. He saw, too, that his expulsion would be no difficult task, when all who had been excluded from a share in the administration were restored; and the orators and public informers were once more masters of the tribunals.

As these letters raised great commotions among the people, Nicanor was desired to speak † to them on that subject in the Piræus; and, for that purpose entered their assembly, trusting his person with Phocion. Dercyllus, who commanded for the king in the adjacent country, laid

* The son of Alexander, who was yet very young.

† Nicanor knew that Polyperchon's proposal to restore the democracy was merely a snare, and he wanted to make the Athenians sensible of it.

laid a ſcheme to ſeize him; but Nicanor getting timely information of his deſign, guarded againſt it, and ſoon ſhewed that he would wreak his vengeance on the city. Phocion then was blamed for letting him go when he had him in his hands; but he anſwered, "He could confide "in Nicanor's promiſes, and ſaw no reaſon to ſuſpect "him of any ill deſign. However," ſaid he, "be the "iſſue what it may, I had rather be found ſuffering than "doing what is unjuſt."

This anſwer of his, if we examine it with reſpect to himſelf only, will appear to be entirely the reſult of fortitude and honour; but, when we conſider that he hazarded the ſafety of his country, and, what is more, that he was general and firſt magiſtrate, I know not whether he did not violate a ſtronger and more reſpectable obligation. It is in vain to allege that Phocion was afraid of involving Athens in a war; and for that reaſon would not ſeize the perſon of Nicanor; and that he only urged the obligations of juſtice and good faith, that Nicanor, by a grateful ſenſe of ſuch behaviour, might be prevailed upon to be quiet, and think of no injurious attempt againſt the Athenians. For the truth is, he had ſuch confidence in Nicanor, that when he had accounts brought him from ſeveral hands of his deſigns upon the Piræus, of his ordering a body of mercenaries to Salamis; and of his bribing ſome of the inhabitants of the Piræus, he would give no credit to any of theſe things. Nay, when Philomedes, of the borough of Lampra, got an edict made, that all the Athenians ſhould take up arms, and obey the orders of Phocion, he took no care to act in purſuance of it, till Nicanor had brought his troops out of Munychia, and carried his trenches round the Piræus. Then Phocion would have led the Athenians againſt him; but, by this time, they were become mutinous, and looked upon him with contempt.

At that juncture arrived Alexander, the ſon of Polyperchon, with an army, under pretence of aſſiſting the city againſt Nicanor; but, in reality, to avail himſelf of its fatal diviſions, and to ſeize it, if poſſible, for himſelf. For the exiles who entered the town with him, the foreigners, and ſuch citizens as had been ſtigmatized as infamous, with other mean people, reſorted to him, and all together made up a ſtrange diſorderly aſſembly, by whoſe ſuffrages the command was taken from Phocion, and

and other generals appointed. Had not Alexander been seen alone near the walls in conference with Nicanor, and by repeated interviews, given the Athenians cause of suspicion, the city could not have escaped the danger it was in. Immediately the orator Agnonides singled out Phocion, and accused him of treason; which so much alarmed Callimedon and Pericles *, that they fled out of the city. Phocion, with such of his friends as did not forsake him, repaired to Polyperchon. Solon of Platæa, and Dinarchus of Corinth, who passed for the friends and confidents of Polyperchon, out of regard to Phocion, desired to be of the party. But Dinarchus falling ill by the way, they were obliged to stop many days at Elatea. In the mean time, Archestratus proposed a decree, and Agnonides got it passed, that deputies should be sent to Polyperchon, with an accusation against Phocion.

The two parties came up to Polyperchon at the same time, as he was upon his march with the king †, near Pharuges, a town of Phocis, situated at the foot of Mount Acroriam, now called Galate. There Polyperchon placed the king under a golden canopy, and his friends on each side of him; and, before he proceeded to any other business, gave orders that Dinarchus should be put to the torture, and afterwards despatched. This done, he gave the Athenians audience. But, as they filled the place with noise and tumult, interrupting each other with mutual accusations to the council, Agonides pressed forwards and said, "Put us all in one cage, and send us back to Athens, "to give account of our conduct there." The king laughed at the proposal; but the Macedonians who attended on that occasion, and the strangers who were drawn thither by curiosity, were desirous of hearing the cause; and therefore made signs to the deputies to argue the matter there. However, it was far from being conducted with impartiality. Polyperchon often interrupted Phocion, who at last was so provoked, that he struck his staff upon the ground, and would speak no more. Hegemon said,

* *Pericles* here looks like an erroneous reading. Afterwards we find not *Pericles*, but *Charicles*, mentioned along with Callimedon. Charicles was Phocion's son-in-law.

† This was Aridæus the natural son of Philip. After some of Alexander's generals had raised him to the throne for their own purposes, he took the name of Philip, and reigned six years and a few months.

said, Polyperchon himſelf could bear witneſs to his affectionate regard for the people; and that general anſwered, "Do you come here to ſlander me before the king?" Upon this the king ſtarted up, and was going to run Hegemon through with his ſpear; but Polyperchon prevented him; and the council broke up immediately.

The guards then ſurrounded Phocion and his party, except a few, who, being at ſome diſtance, muffled themſelues up, and fled. Clitus carried the priſoners to Athens, under colour of having them tried there, but, in reality, only to have them put to death, as perſons already condemned. The manner of conducting the thing, made it a more melancholy ſcene. The priſoners were carried in carts through the Ceramicus to the theatre, where Clitus ſhut them up till the *Archons* had aſſembled the people. From this aſſembly, neither ſlaves nor foreigners, nor perſons ſtigmatized as infamous, were excluded; the tribunal and the theatre were open to all. Then the king's letter was read; the purport of which was, "That he had "found the priſoners guilty of treaſon; but that he left "it to the Athenians, as freemen, who were to be go-"verned by their own laws, to paſs ſentence upon "them."

At the ſame time Clitus preſented them to the people. The beſt of the citizens, when they ſaw Phocion, appeared greatly dejected, and covering their faces with their mantles, began to weep. One, however, had the courage to ſay, "Since the king leaves the determination of ſo im-"portant a matter to the people, it would be proper to "command all ſlaves and ſtrangers to depart." But the populace, inſtead of agreeing to that motion, cried out, "It would be much more proper to ſtone all the favourers "of oligarchy, all the enemies of the people." After which, no one attempted to offer any thing in behalf of Phocion. It was with much difficulty that he obtained permiſſion to ſpeak. At laſt, ſilence being made, he ſaid, "Do you deſign to take away my life, juſtly or unjuſtly?" Some of them anſwering, "Juſtly;" he ſaid, "How can "you know whether it will be juſtly, if you do not hear me "firſt?" As he did not find them inclinable in the leaſt to hear him, he advanced ſome paces forward, and ſaid, "Citizens of Athens, I acknowledge I have done you "injuſtice; and for my faults in the adminiſtration, ad-

"judge

"judge myself guilty of death *; but why will you put "these men to death, who have never injured you?" The populace made answer, "Because they are friends to you." Upon which he drew back, and resigned himself quietly to his fate.

Agnonides then read the decree he had prepared; according to which, the people were to declare by their suffrages whether the prisoners appeared to be guilty or not; and if they appeared so, they were to suffer death. When the decree was read, some called for an additional clause for putting Phocion to the torture before execution; and insisted, that the rack and its managers should be sent for immediately. But Agnonides, observing that Clitus was displeased at that proposal, and looking upon it himself as a barbarous and detestable thing, said, "When we take "that villain Callimedon, let us put him to the torture; "but, indeed, my fellow-citizens, I cannot consent that "Phocion should have such hard measure." Upon this, one of the better-disposed Athenians cried out, "Thou "art certainly right; for if we torture Phocion, what "must we do to thee?" There was, however, hardly one negative when the sentence of death was proposed: all the people gave their voices standing; and some of them even crowned themselves with flowers, as if it had been a matter of festivity. With Phocion, there were Nicocles, Thudippus, Hegemon, and Pythocles. As for Demetrius the Phalerean, Callimedon, Charicles, and some others, who were absent, the same sentence was passed upon them.

After the assembly was dismissed, the convicts were sent to prison. The embraces of their friends and relations melted them into tears; and they all went on bewailing their fate, except Phocion. His countenance was the same as when the people sent him out to command their armies; and the beholders could not but admire his invincible firmness and magnanimity. Some of his enemies, indeed, reviled him as he went along; and one of them even spit in his face: upon which, he turned to the magistrates, and said, "Will no body correct this fellow's rudeness?" Thudippus, when he saw the executioner

* It was the custom for the person accused to lay some penalty on himself. Phocion chooses the highest, thinking it might be a means to reconcile the Athenians to his friends; but it had not that effect.

tioner pounding the hemloc, began to lament what hard fortune it was for him to suffer unjustly on Phocion's account. "What, then!" said the venerable sage, "dost "thou not think it an honour to die with Phocion?" One of his friends asking him, whether he had any commands to his son; "Yes," said he, "by all means, tell him "from me, to forget the ill treatment I have had from the "Athenians." And when Nicocles, the most faithful of his friends, begged that he would let him drink the poison before him; "This," said he, "Niocles, is a hard re-"quest; and the thing must give me great uneasiness; "but since I have obliged you in every instance through "life, I will do the same in this."

When they came all to drink, the quantity proved not sufficient; and the executioner refused to prepare more, except he had twelve *drachmas* paid him, which was the price of a full draught. As this occasioned a troublesome delay, Phocion called one of his friends, and said, "Since "one cannot die on free cost at Athens, give the man his "money." This execution was on the nineteenth day of *April* *, when there was a procession of horsemen in honour of Jupiter. As the cavalcade passed by, some took off their chaplets from their heads; others shed tears as they looked at the prison doors: all who had not hearts entirely savage, or were not corrupted by rage and envy, looked upon it as a most impious thing, not to have reprieved them at least for that day, and so to have kept the city unpolluted on the festival.

However, the enemies of Phocion, as if something had been wanting to their triumph, got an order that his body should not be suffered to remain within the bounds of Attica; nor that any Athenian should furnish fire for the funeral pile. Therefore, no friend durst touch it; but one Conopion, who lived by such services, for a sum of money, carried the corps out of the territories of Eleusis, and got fire for the burning of it in those of Megara. A woman of Megara, who happened to assist at the ceremony with her maid-servants, raised a *cenotaph* upon the spot, and performed the customary libations. The bones she gathered up carefully into her lap, carried them by night to her own house, and interred them under the hearth. At the same time she thus addressed the domestic gods, "Ye "guardians

* *Munychion.*

"guardians of this place, to you I commit the remains "of this good man. Do you reſtore them to the ſepulchre "of his anceſtors, when the Athenians ſhall once more "liſten to the dictates of wiſdom."

The time was not long before the ſituation of their affairs taught them, how vigilant a magiſtrate, and how excellent a guardian of the virtues of juſtice and ſobriety, they had loſt. The people erected his ſtatue in braſs, and buried his remains at the public expence. Agnonides, his principal accuſer, they put to death, in conſequence of a decree for that purpoſe. Epicurus and Demophilus, the other two, fled from Athens; but afterwards fell into the hands of Phocion's ſon, who puniſhed them as they deserved. This ſon of his was, in other reſpects, a worthleſs man. He was in love with a girl, who was in a ſtate of ſervitude, and belonged to a trader in ſuch matters; and happening one day to hear Theodorus the atheiſt maintain this argument in the Lyceum, "That if it is no "ſhame to ranſom a friend, it is no ſhame to redeem a "miſtreſs;" the diſcourſe was ſo flattering to his paſſion, that he went immediately and releaſed his female friend*.

The proceedings againſt Phocion put the Greeks in mind of thoſe againſt Socrates. The treatment of both was equally unjuſt, and the calamities thence entailed upon Athens were perfectly ſimilar†.

CATO THE YOUNGER.

THE family of Cato had its firſt luſtre and diſtinction from his great grandfather, Cato the Cenſor‡, a man whoſe virtue, as we have obſerved in his Life, ranked him with perſons of the greateſt reputation and authority in Rome. The Utican Cato, of whom we are now ſpeaking, was left an orphan, together with his brother Cæpio, and

* It appears from the ancient comedy, that it was no uncommon thing for the young men of Athens to take their miſtreſſes out of ſuch ſhops; and, after they had releaſed them from ſervitude, to marry them.

† Socrates was put to death eighty-two years before.

‡ Cato the Cenſor, at a very late period in life, married Salonia, daughter of his own ſteward. There was a family, however, from that ſecond match, which flouriſhed when that which came from the firſt was extinct.

and his fifter Porcia. He had alfo another fifter called Servilia, but fhe was only fifter by the mother's fide*. The orphans were brought up in the houfe of Livius Drufus, their mother's brother, who at that time had great influence in the adminiftration; to which he was entitled by his eloquence, his wifdom, and dignity of mind; excellencies that put him upon an equality with the beft of the Romans.

Cato, we are told, from his infancy difcovered in his voice, his look, and his very diverfions, a firmnefs and folidity, which neither paffion, nor any thing elfe could move. He purfued every object he had in view with a vigour far above his years, and a refolution that nothing could refift. Thofe who were inclined to flatter were fure to meet with a fevere repulfe, and to thofe who attempted to intimidate him, he was ftill more untractable. Scarce any thing could make him laugh, and it was but rarely that his countenance was foftened to a fmile. He was not quickly or eafily moved to anger; but it was difficult to appeafe his refentment, when once excited.

His apprehenfion was flow, and his learning came with difficulty; but what he had once learned he long retained. It is, indeed, a common cafe for perfons of quick parts to have weak memories, but what is gained with labour and application is always retained the longeft: for every hard-gained acquifition of fcience, is a kind of annealing upon the mind†. The inflexibility of his difpofition feems alfo to have retarded his progrefs in learning‡. For, to learn is to fubmit to a new impreffion; and thofe fubmit the moft eafily who have the leaft power of refiftance. Thus young men are more perfuafible than the old, and the fick than fuch as are well; and, in general, affent is moft eafily gained from thofe who are leaft able to find doubts and difficulties. Yet Cato is faid to have been very obedient to his preceptor, and to have done whatever he was commanded; only he would always inquire the reafon, and afk why fuch a thing was enjoined. Indeed, his preceptor Sarpedon

* Servilia was not his only fifter by the mother's fide; there were three of them: One, the mother of Brutus who killed Cæfar; another married to Lucullus; and a third to Junius Silanus. Cæpio, too, was his brother by the mother's fide.

† Γινεται γαϱ οἷον ἐγκαυμα της ψυχης, των μαθηματων ἑκαϛον.

‡ Δυσπιϛον *flow to believe* is the common reading; but Δυσπειϛον, in which we are warranted by fome manufcripts, is more fuitable to what follows.

Sarpedon (for that was his name) was a man of engaging manners, who chose rather to govern by reaſon, than by violence.

While Cato was yet a child, the Italian allies demanded to be admitted citizens of Rome. Popedius Silo, a man of great name as a ſoldier and powerful among his people, had a friendſhip with Druſus, and lodged a long time in his houſe during this application. As he was familiar with the children, he ſaid to them one day, "Come, my good "children, deſire your uncle to aſſiſt us in our ſolicita- "tion for the freedom." Cæpio ſmiled, and readily gave his promiſe; but Cato made no anſwer. And as he was obſerved to look with a fixed and unkind eye upon the ſtrangers, Popedius continued, "And you, my little man, "what do you ſay? Will not you give your gueſts your "intereſt with your uncle, as well as your brother?"— Cato ſtill refuſing to anſwer, and appearing by his ſilence and his looks inclined to deny the requeſt, Popedius took him to the window and threatened, if he would not promiſe, to throw him out. This he did in a harſh tone, and at the ſame time gave him ſeveral ſhakes, as if he was going to let him fall. But as the child bore this a long time without any marks of concern or fear, Popedius ſet him down, and ſaid ſoftly to his friends, "This child is the "glory of Italy. I verily believe if he were a man, that "we ſhould not get one vote among the people.

Another time, when a relation invited young Cato, with other children, to celebrate his birth-day, moſt of the children went to play together in a corner of the houſe. Their play was to mimic a court of juſtice*, where ſome were accuſed in form, and afterwards carried to priſon. One of them, a beautiful boy, being condemned, and ſhut up by a bigger boy, who acted as officer, in one of the apartments, called out to Cato; who, as ſoon as he underſtood what the matter was, ran to the door, and puſhing away thoſe who ſtood there as guards, and attempted to oppoſe him, carried

* Children's plays are often taken from what is moſt familiar to them. In other countries they are commonly formed upon trifling ſubjects, but the Roman children acted trials in the courts of juſtice, the command of armies, triumphal proceſſions, and, in later times the ſtate of emperors. Suetonius tells us that Nero commanded his ſon-in-law Rufinus Criſpinus, the ſon of Popæa, a child to be thrown into the ſea, becauſe he was ſaid to delight in plays of the laſt-mentioned kind.

carried off the child, and went home in great anger; moſt of the children marching off with him.

Theſe things gained him great reputation, of which the following is an extraordinary inſtance: When Sylla choſe to exhibit a tournament of boys, which goes by the name of *Troy**, and is conſidered as a ſacred exhibition, he ſelected two bands of young gentlemen, and aſſigned them two captains, one of which they readily accepted, on account of his being the ſon of Metella, the wife of Sylla; but the other, named Sextus, though he was nephew to Pompey the Great, they abſolutely rejected, and would not go out to exerciſe under him. Sylla then aſking them, "Whom they would have?" they unanimouſly cried "Cato;" and Sextus himſelf readily yielded the honour to him, as a boy of ſuperior parts.

The friendſhip which had ſubſiſted between Sylla and the father of Cato, induced him ſometimes to ſend for the young man and his brother Cæpio, and to talk familiarly with them: a favour, which, by reaſon of his dignity, he conferred on very few. Sarpedon thinking ſuch an intercourſe a great advantage to his ſcholar, both in point of honour and ſafety, often took Cato to pay his reſpects to the dictator. Sylla's houſe at that time looked like nothing but a place of execution; ſuch were the numbers of people tortured and put to death there. Cato, who now was in his fourteenth year, ſeeing the heads of many illuſtrious perſonages carried out, and obſerving that the byſtanders ſighed in ſecret at theſe ſcenes of blood, aſked his preceptor, "Why ſomebody did not kill that man?" "Be-"cauſe," ſaid he, "they fear him more than they hate "him." "Why then," ſaid Cato, "do not you give me "a ſword, that I may kill him, and deliver my country "from ſlavery?" When Sarpedon heard ſuch a ſpeech from the boy, and ſaw with what a ſtern and angry look he uttered it, he was greatly alarmed, and watched him narrowly afterwards, to prevent his attempting ſome raſh action.

When he was but a child, he was aſked one day, "Whom "he loved moſt?" and he anſwered, "His brother." The perſon

* The invention of this game is generally aſcribed to Aſcanius. It was celebrated in the public *circus* by companies of boys, who were furniſhed with arms ſuitable to their ſtrength. They were taken, for the moſt part, out of the nobleſt families in Rome. See an excellent deſcription of it in Virgil, Æneid. ver. 545, &c.

person who put the question, then asked him "Whom he "loved next?" and again he said "His brother:" "Whom "in the third place?" and still it was "His brother:" and so on till he put no more questions to him about it. This affection increased with his years, insomuch that when he was twenty years old, if he supped, if he went out into the country, if he appeared in the *forum*, Cæpio must be with him. But he would not make use of perfumes as Cæpio did; indeed, the whole course of his life was strict and austere: so that when Cæpio was sometimes commended for his temperance and sobriety, he would say, "I may have some claim to these virtues, when compared "with other men; but when I compare myself with Cato, "I seem a mere Sippius." Sippius was the name of a person remarkably effeminate and luxurious.

After Cato had taken upon him the priesthood of Apollo, he changed his dwelling, and took his share of the paternal estate, which amounted to a hundred and twenty talents. But though his fortune was so considerable, his manner of living was more frugal and simple than ever. He formed a particular connection with Antipater of Tyre, the Stoic philosopher; and the knowledge he was the most studious of acquiring, was the moral and the political. He was carried to every virtue with an impulse like inspiration; but his greatest attachment was to justice, and justice of that severe and inflexible kind which is not to be wrought upon by favour or compassion*. He cultivated also that eloquence which is fit for popular assemblies; for as in a great city there should be an extraordinary supply for war, so in the political philosophy he thought there should be a provision for troublesome times. Yet he did not declaim before company, nor go to hear the exercises of other young men. And when one of his friends said, "Cato, the world finds "fault with your silence:" he answered, "No matter, so "long as it does not find fault with my life. I shall be-"gin to speak, when I have things to say that deserve to "be known."

In the public hall called the *Porcian*, which was built by old Cato in his censorship, the tribunes of the people used to

* Cicero, in his oration for Murena, gives us a fine satire upon those maxims of the Stoics which Cato made the rule of his life, and which, as he observes, were only fit to flourish within the portico.

to hold their court. And, as there was a pillar which incommoded their benches, they resolved either to remove it to a distance, or to take it entirely away. This was the first thing that drew Cato to the *rostra*, and even then it was against his inclination. However, he opposed the design effectually, and gave an admirable specimen, both of his eloquence and spirit. For there was nothing of youthful sallies or finical affectation in his oratory; all was rough, sensible, and strong. Nevertheless, amidst the short and solid turn of the sentences there was a grace that engaged the ear; and with the gravity which might be expected from his manners, there was something of humour and raillery intermixed, which had an agreeable effect. His voice was loud enough to be heard by such a multitude of people, and his strength was such, that he often spoke a whole day without being tired.

After he had gained his cause, he returned to his former studies and silence. To strengthen his constitution, he used the most laborious exercise. He accustomed himself to go bare-headed in the hottest and coldest weather, and travelled on foot at all seasons of the year. His friends who travelled with him, made use of horses, and he joined sometimes one, sometimes another for conversation, as he went along. In time of sickness, his patience and abstinence were extraordinary. If he happened to have a fever, he spent the whole day alone, suffering no person to approach him, till he found a sensible change for the better.

At entertainments they threw the dice for the choice of the messes; and if Cato lost the first choice, his friends used to offer it him; but he always refused it; "Venus*," said he, "forbids." At first he used to rise from table after having drank once; but in process of time he came to love drinking, and would sometimes spend the whole night over the bottle. His friends excused him by saying, "That the business of the state employed him all day, "and left him no time for conversation, and therefore he "spent his evenings in discourse with the philosophers." And, when one Memmius said in company, "That Cato "spent whole nights in drinking;" Cicero retorted, "But "you cannot say that he spends whole day at play."

Cato

* The most favourable cast upon the dice was called *Venus*. Horace alludes to it, ode vii. lib 2.

Cato ſaw that a great reformation was wanting in the manners and cuſtoms of his country, and for that reaſon he determined to go contrary to the corrupt faſhions which then obtained. He obſerved (for inſtance) that the richeſt and moſt lively purple was the thing moſt worn, and therefore he went in black. Nay, he often appeared in public after dinner bare-footed and without his gown. Not that he affected to be talked of for that ſingularity; but he did it by way of learning to be aſhamed of nothing but what was really ſhameful, and not to regard what depended only on the eſtimation of the world.

A great eſtate falling to him by the death of a couſin-german of the ſame name, he turned it into money, to the amount of a hundred talents; and when any of his friends wanted to borrow a ſum, he lent it them without intereſt. If he could not otherwiſe ſupply them, he ſuffered even his own land and ſlaves to be mortgaged for them to the treaſury.

He knew no woman before his marriage; and when he thought himſelf of a proper age to enter into that ſtate, he ſet a treaty on foot with Lepida, who had before been contracted to Metellus Scipio, but, upon Scipio's breaking the engagement, was then at liberty. However, before the marriage could take place, Scipio repented; and by the aſſiduity of his management and addreſs, ſucceeded with the lady. Provoked at this ill treatment, Cato was deſirous to go to law for redreſs; and, as his friends over-ruled him in that reſpect, youthful reſentment put him upon writing ſome *iambics* againſt Scipio, which had all the keenneſs of Archilochus, without his obſcenity and ſcurrility.

After this, he married Atilia the daughter of Soranus, who was the firſt, but not the only woman he ever knew. In this reſpect Lælius, the friend of Scipio Africanus, was happier than he *; for in the courſe of a long life he had only one wife, and no intercourſe with any other woman.

In the *ſervile* war † (I mean that with Spartacus) Gellius was general; and Cato ſerved in it as a volunteer, for the

* Plutarch ſeems to us to have ſpoken ſo feelingly of the happineſs of the conjugal connection long continued with one affectionate wife, from his own experience.

† Seventy-one years before the Chriſtian æra.

the ſake of his brother Cæpio, who was tribune; but he could not diſtinguiſh his vivacity and courage as he wiſhed, becauſe the war was ill conducted. However, amidſt the effeminacy and luxury which then prevailed in the army, he paid ſo much regard to diſcipline, and, when occaſion ſerved, behaved with ſo much ſpirit and valour as well as coolneſs and capacity, that he appeared not in the leaſt inferior to Cato the Cenſor. Gellius made him an offer of the beſt military rewards and honours; but he would not accept or allow of them; "For," ſaid he, "I have "done nothing that deſerves ſuch notice."

These things made him paſs for a man of a ſtrange and ſingular turn. Beſides, when a law was made, that no man who ſolicited any office, ſhould take *nomenclators* with him, he was the only one that obeyed it; for when he applied for a tribune's commiſſion in the army, he had previouſly made himſelf maſter of the names of all the citizens. Yet for this he was envied, even by thoſe who praiſed him. The more they conſidered the excellence of his conduct, the more pain it gave them to think how hard it was to imitate.

With a tribune's commiſſion he was ſent into Macedonia, where Rubrius the prætor commanded. His wife, upon his departure, was in great diſtreſs, and we are told that Munatius, a friend of Cato's, in order to comfort her, ſaid, "Take courage, Atilia; I will take care of "your huſband." "By all means," anſwered Cato. At the end of the firſt day's march, after they had ſupped, he ſaid, "Come, Munatius, that you may the better "perform your promiſe to Atilia, you ſhall not leave me "either day or night." In conſequence of which, he ordered two beds in his own tent, and made a pleaſant improvement upon the matter; for, as Munatius always ſlept by him, it was not he that took care of Cato, but Cato that took care of him.

Cato had with him fifteen ſlaves, two freedmen, and four of his friends. Theſe rode on horſeback, and he always went on foot; yet he kept up with them and converſed with them by turns. When he joined the army, which conſiſted of ſeveral legions, Rubrius gave him the command of one. In this poſt he thought it nothing great or extraordinary to be diſtinguiſhed by his own virtue only; it was his ambition to make all the troops

troops that were under his care like himſelf. With this view he leſſened nothing of that authority which might inſpire fear, but he called in the ſupport of reaſon to its aſſiſtance. By inſtruction and perſuaſion, as well as by rewards and puniſhments, he formed them ſo well, that it was hard to ſay whether his troops were more peaceable or more warlike, more valiant or more juſt. They were dreadful to their enemies, and courteous to their allies; afraid to do a diſhonourable thing, and ambitious of honeſt praiſe.

Hence, though honour and fame were not Cato's objects, they flowed in upon him; he was held in univerſal eſteem, and had entirely the hearts of his ſoldiers. For whatever he commanded others to do, he was the firſt to do himſelf. In his dreſs, his manner of living, and marching, he reſembled the private ſoldier more than the officer; and at the ſame time, in virtue, in dignity of mind, and ſtrength of eloquence, he far exceeded all that had the name of generals. By theſe means he inſenſibly gained the affections of his troops. And, indeed, virtue does not attract imitation, except the perſon who gives the pattern is beloved as well as eſteemed. Thoſe who praiſe good men without loving them, only pay a reſpect to their name, but do not ſincerely admire their virtue, nor have any inclination to follow their example.

At that time there lived at Pergamus a Stoic philoſopher, named Athenodorus, and ſurnamed Cordylio, in great reputation for his knowledge. He was now grown old, and had long reſiſted the applications of princes and other great men, who wanted to draw him to their courts, and offered him their friendſhip and very conſiderable appointments. Cato thence concluded that it would be in vain to write or ſend any meſſenger to him; and, as the laws gave him leave of abſence for two months, he ſailed to Aſia, and applied to him in perſon, in confidence that his accompliſhments would carry his point with him. Accordingly, by his arguments and the charms of his converſation, he drew him from his purpoſe, and brought him with him to the camp; as happy and as proud of this ſucceſs, as if he had made a more valuable capture, or performed a more glorious exploit, than thoſe of Pompey and Lucullus, who were then ſubduing the provinces and kingdoms of the eaſt.

While

While he was with the army in Macedonia, he had notice by letter that his brother Cæpio was fallen ſick at Ænus in Thrace. The ſea was extremely rough, and no large veſſel to be had. He ventured, however, to ſail from Theſſalonica, in a ſmall paſſage-boat, with two friends and three ſervants, and having very narrowly eſcaped drowning, arrived at Ænus juſt after Cæpio expired. On this occaſion Cato ſhewed the ſenſibility of a brother, rather than the fortitude of a philoſopher. He wept, he groaned, he embraced the dead body; and beſides theſe and other tokens of the greateſt ſorrow, he ſpent vaſt ſums upon his funeral. The ſpices and rich robes that were burnt with him were very expenſive, and he erected a monument for him of Thaſian marble in the *forum* at Ænus, which coſt no leſs than eight talents.

Some condemned theſe things as little agreeable to the modeſty and ſimplicity which Cato profeſſed in general; but they did not perceive, that with all his firmneſs and inflexibility to the ſolicitations of pleaſure, of terror, and importunity, he had great tenderneſs and ſenſibility in his nature. Many cities and princes ſent preſents of great value, to do honour to the obſequies, but he would not accept any thing in money. All that he would receive was ſpices and ſtuffs, and thoſe too only on condition of paying for them.

He was left coheir with Cæpio's daughter, to his eſtate; but when they came to divide it, he would not charge any part of the funeral expences to her account. Yet, though he acted ſo honourably in that affair, and continued in the ſame upright path, there was one * who ſcrupled not to write, that he paſſed his brother's aſhes through a ſieve, in ſearch of the gold that might be melted down. Surely that writer thought himſelf above being called to account for his pen, as well as for his ſword!

Upon the expiration of his commiſſion, Cato was honoured at his departure, not only with the common good wiſhes for his health and praiſes of his conduct, but with tears and the moſt affectionate embraces; the ſoldiers ſpread their garments in his way, and kiſſed his hands: inſtances of eſteem which few generals met with from the Romans in thoſe times.

But before he returned to Rome, to apply for a ſhare in the adminiſtration, he reſolved to viſit Aſia, and ſee with his

* Julius Cæſar in his *Anticato*.

his own eyes the manners, cuftoms, and ftrength of every province. At the fame time he was willing to oblige Deiotarus king of Galatia, who, on account of the engagements of hofpitality that he had entered into with his father, had given him a very prefling invitation.

His manner of travelling was this. Early in the morning he fent his baker and his cook to the place where he intended to lodge the next night. Thefe entered the town in a very modeft and civil manner, and if they found there no friend or acquaintance of Cato or his family, they took up lodgings for him, and prepared his fupper at an inn, without giving any one the leaft trouble. If there happened to be no inn, they applied to the magiftrates for quarters, and were always fatisfied with thofe affigned them. Very often they were not believed to be Cato's fervants, but entirely difregarded *, becaufe they came not to the magiftrates in a clamorous aad threatening manner; infomuch that their mafter arrived before they could procure lodgings. It was worfe ftill when Cato himfelf made his appearance, for the townfmen feeing him fet down on the luggage without fpeaking a word, took him for a man of a mean and daftardly fpirit. Sometimes, however, he would fend for the magiftrates, and fay, "Wretches, why do not you learn a proper hofpi-" tality? You will not find all that apply to you, Catos. "Do not then by your ill treatment give thofe occafion "to exert their authority, who only want a pretence to "take from you by violence, what you give with fo "much reluctance."

In Syria, we are told, he met with an humourous adventure. When he came to Antioch, he faw a number of people ranged in good order without the gates. On one fide the way ftood the young men in their mantles, and on the other the boys in their beft attire. Some wore white robes, and had crowns on their heads; thefe were the priefts and the magiftrates. Cato imagining that this magnificent reception was intended to do him honour, began to be angry with his fervants, who were fent before, for not preventing fuch a compliment. Neverthelefs, he defired his friends to alight, and walked with them towards thefe Antiochians. When they were near enough to be fpoken

* *Apparet fervum hunc effe domini pauperis miferique.* TERENT. *Eunuch.* iii. 2.

ſpoken to, the maſter of the ceremonies, an elderly man, with a ſtaff and a crown in his hand, addreſſed himſelf firſt to Cato, and, without ſo much as ſaluting him, aſked "How far Demetrius was behind; and when he might "be expected." Demetrius was Pompey's freedman; and, as the eyes of all the world were then fixed upon Pompey, they paid more reſpect to this favourite of his than he had any right to claim. Cato's friends were ſeized with ſuch a fit of laughter, that they could not recover themſelves as they paſſed through the crowd. Cato himſelf, in ſome confuſion, cried out, "Alas poor city!" and ſaid not a word more. Afterwards, however, he uſed always to laugh when he told the ſtory.

But Pompey took care to prevent the people of Aſia from making any more miſtakes of this kind for want of knowing Cato. For Cato, when he came to Epheſus, going to pay his reſpects to Pompey, as his ſuperior in point of age and dignity, and as the commander of ſuch great armies; Pompey ſeeing him at ſome diſtance, did not wait to receive him ſitting, but roſe up to meet him, and gave him his hand with great cordiality. He ſaid much, too, in commendation of his virtue while he was preſent, and ſpoke more freely in his praiſe when he was gone. Every one, after this, paid great attention to Cato; and he was admired for what before had expoſed him to contempt: for they could now ſee that his ſedate and ſubdued conduct was the effect of his greatneſs of mind. Beſides, it was viſible that Pompey's behaviour to him was the conſequence rather of reſpect than love; and that, though he expreſſed his admiration of him when preſent, he was glad when he was gone. For the other young Romans that came to ſee him, he preſſed much to ſtay and ſpend ſome time with him. To Cato he gave no ſuch invitation; but, as if he thought himſelf under ſome reſtraint in his proceedings while he ſtayed, readily diſmiſſed him. However, amongſt all the Romans that returned to Rome, to Cato only he recommended his wife and children, who indeed were his relations.

His fame now going before him, the cities in his way ſtrove which ſhould do him moſt honour, by invitations, entertainments, and every other mark of regard. On theſe occaſions, Cato uſed to deſire his friends to look well to him, leſt he ſhould make good the ſaying of Curio. Curio, who was one of his particular friends and compa-
nions,

nions, but diſapproved his auſterity, aſked him one day, "Whether he was inclined to viſit Aſia when his time of "ſervice was expired?" Cato anſwered, "Yes, by all "means." Upon which Curio ſaid, "It is well; you will "return a little more practicable:" uſing an expreſſive Latin word to that purpoſe *.

Deiotarus, king of Galatia, being far advanced in years, ſent for Cato, with a deſign to recommend his children, and all his family, to his protection. As ſoon as he came, he offered him a variety of valuable preſents, and urged him ſtrongly to accept them; which importunity ſo much diſpleaſed him, that though he came in the evening, he ſtayed only that night, and went away at the third hour the next morning. After he had gone a day's journey, he found at Peſſinus a greater number of preſents, with letters intreating him to receive them; "or if you will not "accept them," ſaid Deiotarus, "at leaſt permit your "friends to take them, who deſerve ſome reward for their "ſervices, and yet cannot expect it out of your own eſtate." Cato, however, would give them no ſuch permiſſion, though he obſerved that ſome of his friends caſt a longing eye that way, and were viſibly chagrined. "Corruption," "ſaid he, "will never want a pretence. But you ſhall be "ſure to ſhare with me whatever I can get with juſtice and "honour." He therefore ſent Deiotarus his preſents back.

When he was taking ſhip for Brunduſium, his friends adviſed him to put Cæpio's remains on board another veſſel †; but he declared, "He would ſooner part with "his life than with them;" and ſo he ſet ſail. It is ſaid, the ſhip he was in, happened to be in great danger, though all the reſt had a tolerable paſſage.

After his return to Rome, he ſpent his time either in converſation with Athenodorus at home, or in the *forum* in the ſervice of his friends. Though he was of a proper age ‡ to offer himſelf for the quæſtorſhip, he would not ſolicit it till he had qualified himſelf for that office, by ſtudying

* Suppoſed to be *manſuetior*. As Cato underſtood it in a diſadvantageous ſenſe, we have rendered it by the word *practicable*, which conveys that idea.

† From a ſuperſtition which commonly obtained, they imagined that a dead body on board a ſhip would raiſe a ſtorm. Plutarch, by uſing the word *happened* juſt below, ſhews that he did not give into that ſuperſtitious notion, though too apt to do thoſe things.

‡ Twenty-four or twenty-five years of age.

ſtudying all the laws relating to it, by making inquiries of ſuch as were experienced in it; and thus gaining a thorough knowledge of its whole intention and proceſs. Immediately upon his entering on it, he made a great reformation among the ſecretaries and other officers of the treaſury. The public papers, and the rules of court, were what they were well verſed in; and as young quæſtors were continually coming into the direction, who were ignorant of the laws and records, the under-officers took upon them not only to inſtruct, but to dictate to them; and were, in fact, quæſtors themſelves. Cato corrected this abuſe. He applied himſelf with great vigour to the buſineſs, and had not only the name and honour, but thoroughly underſtood all that belonged to that department. Conſequently, he made uſe of the ſecretaries only as ſervants, which they really were; ſometimes correcting wilful abuſes, and ſometimes the miſtakes which they made through ignorance. As the licence in which they had lived, had made them refractory, and they hoped to ſecure themſelves by flattering the other quæſtors, they boldly withſtood Cato. He therefore diſmiſſed the principal of them, whom he had detected in a fraud in the diviſion of an eſtate. Againſt another he lodged an indictment for forgery. His defence was undertaken by Lutatius Catulus, then cenſor; a man whoſe authority was not only ſupported by his high office, but ſtill more by his reputation; for, in juſtice and regularity of life, he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf above all the Romans of his time. He was alſo a friend and favourer of Cato, on account of his upright conduct; yet he oppoſed him in this cauſe. Perceiving he had not right on his ſide, he had recourſe to intreaties; but Cato would not ſuffer him to proceed in that manner; and, as he did not deſiſt, took occaſion to ſay, "It would "be a great diſgrace for you, Catulus, who are cenſor "and inſpector of our lives and manners, to be turned "out of court by my lictors." Catulus gave him a look, as if he intended to make anſwer; however, he did not ſpeak: either through anger or ſhame, he went off ſilent, and greatly diſconcerted. Nevertheleſs, the man was not condemned. As the number of voices againſt him exceeded thoſe for him by one only, Catulus deſired the aſſiſtance of Marcus Lollius, Cato's colleague, who was prevented by ſickneſs from attending the trial; but, upon this application, was brought in a litter into court, and

gave

gave the determining voice in favour of the defendant. Yet Cato would not restore him to his employment, or pay him his stipend; for he considered the partial suffrage of Lollius as a thing of no account.

The secretaries thus humbled and subdued, he took the direction of the public papers and finances into his own hand. By these means, in a little time he rendered the treasury more respectable than the senate itself; and it was commonly thought, as well as said, that Cato had given the quæstorship all the dignity of the consulate. For, having made it his business to find out all the debts of long standing due to the public, and what the public was indebted to private persons, he settled these affairs in such a manner, that the commonwealth could no longer either do or suffer any injury in that respect; strictly demanding and insisting on the payment of whatever was owing to the state; and, at the same time, readily and freely satisfying all who had claims upon it. This naturally gained him reverence among the people, when they saw many obliged to pay, who hoped never to have been called to account; and many receiving debts which they had given up as desperate. His predecessors had often, through interest or persuasion, accepted false bills, and pretended orders of senate; but nothing of that kind escaped Cato. There was one order in particular, which he suspected to be forged; and though it had many witnesses to support it, he would not allow it till the consuls came and declared it upon oath.

There was a number of assassins employed in the last proscription, to whom Sylla had given twelve thousand *drachmas* for each head they brought him. These were looked upon by all the world as the most execrable villains; yet no man had ventured to take vengeance on them. Cato, however, summoned all who had received the public money for such unjust services, and made them refund; inveighing, at the same time, with equal reason and severity, against their impious and abominable deeds. Those wretches, thus disgraced, and, as it were, prejudged, were afterwards indicted for murder before the judges, who punished them as they deserved. All ranks of people rejoiced at these executions; they thought they saw the tyranny rooted out with these men, and Sylla himself capitally punished in the death of his ministers.

The

The people were alſo delighted with his indefatigable diligence; for he always came to the treaſury before his colleagues, and was the laſt that left it. There was no aſſembly of the people, or meeting of the ſenate, which he did not attend, in order to keep a watchful eye upon all partial remiſſions of fines and duties, and all unreaſonable grants. Thus having cleared the exchequer of informers, and all ſuch vermin, and filled it with treaſure, he ſhewed that it is poſſible for government to be rich without oppreſſing the ſubject. At firſt this conduct of his was very obnoxious to his colleagues, but in time it came to be agreeable; becauſe, by refuſing to give away any of the public money, or to make any partial determination, he ſtood the rage of diſappointed avarice for them all; and, to the importunity of ſolicitation they could anſwer, that they could do nothing without the conſent of Cato.

The laſt day of his office he was conducted home by almoſt the whole body of citizens. But, by the way, he was informed that ſome of the principal men in Rome, who had great influence upon Marcellus, were beſieging him in the treaſury, and preſſing him to make out an order for ſums which they pretended to be due to them. Marcellus, from his childhood, was a friend of Cato's, and a good quæſtor, while he acted with him; but, when he acted alone, he was too much influenced by perſonal regards for petitioners, and by a natural inclination to oblige. Cato, therefore, immediately turned back, and finding Marcellus already prevailed upon to make out the order, he called for the regiſters, and eraſed it; Marcellus all the while ſtanding by in ſilence. Not content with this, he took him out of the treaſury, and led him to his own houſe. Marcellus, however, did not complain, either then, or afterwards, but continued the ſame friendſhip and intimacy with him to the laſt.

After the time of his quæſtorſhip was expired, Cato kept a watchful eye upon the treaſury. He had his ſervants there daily minuting down the proceedings; and he ſpent much time himſelf in peruſing the public accounts from the time of Sylla to his own; a copy of which he had purchaſed for five talents.

Whenever the ſenate was ſummoned to meet, he was the firſt to give his attendance, and the laſt to withdraw; and

and oftentimes, while the reſt were ſlowly aſſembling, he would ſit down and read, holding his gown before his book; nor would he ever be out of town when a houſe was called. Pompey finding that, in all his unwarrantable attemps, he muſt find a ſevere and inexorable opponent in Cato, when he had a point of that kind to carry, threw in his way either the cauſe of ſome friend to plead, or arbitration, or other buſineſs to attend to. But Cato ſoon perceived the ſnare, and rejected all the applications of his friends; declaring, that, when the ſenate was to ſit, he would never undertake any other buſineſs. For his attention to the concerns of government was not, like that of ſome others, guided by the views of honour or profit, nor left to chance or humour; but he thought *a good citizen ought to be as ſolicitous about the public, as a bee is about her hive.* For this reaſon he deſired his friends, and others with whom he had connections in the provinces, to give him an account of the edicts, the important deciſions, and all the principal buſineſs tranſacted there.

He made a point of it to oppoſe Clodius the ſeditious demagogue, who was always propoſing ſome dangerous law, or ſome change in the conſtitution, or accuſing the prieſts and veſtals to the people. Fabia Terentia, ſiſter to Cicero's wife, and one of the veſtals, was impeached among the reſt, and in danger of being condemned. But Cato defended the cauſe of theſe injured people ſo well, that Clodius was forced to withdraw in great confuſion, and leave the city. When Cicero came to thank him for this ſervice, he ſaid, "You muſt thank your country, "whoſe utility is the ſpring that guides all my actions"

His reputation came to be ſo great, that a certain orator in a cauſe where only one witneſs was produced, ſaid to the judges, "One man's evidence is not ſufficient to go "by, not even if it was Cato's." It grew, indeed, into a kind of proverb, when people were ſpeaking of ſtrange and incredible things, to ſay, "I would not believe ſuch "a thing, though it were affirmed by Cato."

A man profuſe in his expences, and in all reſpects of a worthleſs character, taking upon him one day to ſpeak in the ſenate in praiſe of temperance and ſobriety, Amnæus roſe up and ſaid, "Who can endure to hear a man who "eats and drinks like Craſſus, and builds like Lucullus, "pretend to talk here like Cato?" Hence others, who were diſſolute and abandoned in their lives, but preſerved a gravity

a gravity and austerity in their discourse, came by way of ridicule to be called *Catos*.

His friends advised him to offer himself for the tribuneship; but he thought it was not yet time. He said, "He "looked upon an office of such power and authority, as "a violent medicine, which ought not to be used except "in cases of great necessity." As, at that time, he had no public business to engage him, he took his books and philosophers with him, and set out for Lucania, where he had lands, and an agreeable country retreat. By the way he met with a number of horses, carriages, and servants, which he found to belong to Metellus Nepos, who was going to Rome to apply for the tribuneship. This put him to a stand: he remained some time in deep thought, and then gave his people orders to turn back. To his friends, who were surprised at this conduct, "Know ye "not, said he, that Metellus is formidable even in his "stupidity? But remember, that he now follows the "counsels of Pompey; that the state lies prostrate before "him; and that he will fall upon and crush it with the "force of a thunderbolt. Is this then a time for the "pursuit of rural amusements? Let us rescue our liber-"ties, or die in their defence!" Upon the remonstrance of his friends, however, he proceeded to his farm; and after a short stay there, returned to the city. He arrived in the evening, and early next morning went to the *forum*, as a candidate for the tribuneship, in opposition to Metellus: for to oppose, is the nature of that office; and its power is chiefly negative; insomuch, that the dissent of a single voice is sufficient to disannul a measure in which the whole assembly beside has concurred.

Cato was at first attended only by a small number of his friends; but, when his intentions were made known, he was immediately surrounded by men of honour and virtue, the rest of his acquaintance, who gave him the strongest encouragement, and solicited him to apply for the tribuneship, not as it might imply a favour conferred on himself, but as it would be an honour and an advantage to his fellow-citizens: observing, at the same time, that, though it had been frequently in his power to obtain this office without the trouble of opposition; yet he now stepped forth, regardless, not only of that trouble, but even of personal danger, when the liberties of his country were at stake. Such was the zeal and eagerness of the people that pressed

preſſed around him, that it was with the utmoſt difficulty he made his way to the *forum*.

Being appointed tribune, with Metellus amongſt the reſt, he obſerved that great corruption had crept into the conſular elections. On this ſubject he gave a ſevere charge to the people, which he concluded, by affirming on oath, that he would proſecute every one that ſhould offend in that way. He took care, however, that Silanus *, who had married his ſiſter Servilia, ſhould be excepted. But againſt Muræna, who, by means of bribery, had carried the conſulſhip at the ſame time with Silanus, he laid an information. By the laws of Rome, the perſon accuſed has power to ſet a guard upon him who lays the information, that he may have no opportunity of ſupporting a falſe accuſation by private machinations before his trial. When the perſon that was appointed Muræna's officer, on this occaſion, obſerved the liberal and candid conduct of Cato; that he ſought only to ſupport his information by fair and open evidence; he was ſo ſtruck with the excellence and dignity of his character, that he would frequently wait upon him in the *forum*, or at his houſe, and, after inquiring whether he ſhould proceed that day in the buſineſs of the information, if Cato anſwered in the negative, he made no ſcruple of leaving him. When the trial came on, Cicero, who was then conſul, and Muræna's advocate, by way of playing upon Cato, threw out many pleaſant things againſt the ſtoics, and their paradoxical philoſophy. This occaſioned no ſmall mirth amongſt the judges: upon which Cato only obſerved with a ſmile, to thoſe who ſtood next him, that Rome had indeed a moſt laughable conſul †. Muræna acted a very prudent part with regard to Cato; for, though acquitted of the charge he had brought againſt him, he nevertheleſs conſulted him on

* From this paſſage it ſhould ſeem that Plutarch ſuppoſed Cato to be capable of ſacrificing to family connections. But the fault lies rather in the hiſtorian than in the tribune. For, it is to be ſuppoſed that the rigid virtue of Cato, ſhould deſcend to the moſt obnoxious circumſtances of predilection? It is not poſſible to have a ſtronger inſtance of his integrity, than his refuſing the alliance of Pompey the Great; though that refuſal was impolitic, and attended with bad conſequences to the ſtate.

† The French and Engliſh tranſlators have it, *a pleaſant conſul*. But that does not convey the ſarcaſm that Cato meant. "Ridiculum eſt quod riſum facit."

on all occaſions of importance during his conſulſhip; reſpected him for his ſenſe and virtue, and made uſe of his counſels in the adminiſtration of government. For Cato, on the bench, was the moſt rigid diſpenſer of juſtice; though, in private ſociety, he was affable and humane.

Before he was appointed tribune in the conſulſhip of Cicero, he ſupported the ſupreme magiſtrate in a very ſeaſonable manner, by many excellent meaſures during the turbulent times of Catiline. It is well known that this man meditated nothing leſs than a total ſubverſion of the Roman ſtate; and that, by the ſpirited counſels and conduct of Cicero, he was obliged to fly from Rome without effecting his purpoſe. But Lentulus, Cethegus, and the reſt of the conſpirators, after reproaching Catiline for his timidity and the feebleneſs of his enterprizes, reſolved to diſtinguiſh themſelves at leaſt more effectually. Their ſcheme was nothing leſs than to burn the city, and deſtroy the empire, by the revolt of the colonies and foreign wars. Upon the diſcovery of this conſpiracy, Cicero, as we have obſerved in his life, called a council; and the firſt that ſpoke was Silanus. He gave it as his opinion, that the conſpirators ſhould be puniſhed with the utmoſt rigour. This opinion was adopted by the reſt till it came to Cæſar. This eloquent man, conſiſtent with whoſe ambitious principles it was rather to encourage than to ſuppreſs any threatening innovations, urged, in his uſual perſuaſive manner, the propriety of allowing the accuſed the privilege of trial; and that the conſpirators ſhould only be taken into cuſtody. The ſenate, who were under apprehenſions from the people, thought it prudent to come into this meaſure; and even Silanus retracted, and declared he thought of nothing more than impriſonment, that being the moſt rigorous puniſhment a citizen of Rome could ſuffer.

This change of ſentiments in thoſe who ſpoke firſt, was followed by the reſt, who all gave into milder meaſures. But Cato, who was of a contrary opinion, defended that opinion with the greateſt vehemence, eloquence, and energy. He reproached Silanus for his puſillanimity in changing his reſolution. He attacked Cæſar, and charged him with a ſecret deſign of ſubverting the government, under the plauſible appearance of mitigating ſpeeches and a humane conduct; of intimidating the ſenate, by the ſame

ſame means, even in a caſe where he had to fear for himſelf, and wherein he might think himſelf happy if he could be exempted from every imputation and ſuſpicion of guilt. He who had openly and daringly attempted to reſcue from juſtice the enemies of the ſtate; and ſhewn, that ſo far from having any compaſſion for his country, when on the brink of deſtruction, he could even pity and plead for the wretches, the unnatural wretches that meditated its ruin, and grieve that their puniſhment ſhould prevent their deſign. This, it is ſaid, is the only oration of Cato that is extant. Cicero had ſelected a number of the ſwifteſt writers, whom he had taught the art of abbreviating words by characters, and had placed them in different parts of the ſenate houſe. Before his conſulate, they had no ſhort-hand writers. Cato carried his point; and it was decreed, agreeably to his opinion, that the conſpirators ſhould ſuffer capital puniſhment.

As it is our intention to exhibit an accurate picture of the mind and manners of Cato, the leaſt circumſtance that may contribute to mark them ſhould not eſcape our notice. While he was warmly conteſting his point with Cæſar, and the eyes of the whole ſenate were upon the diſputants, it is ſaid that a billet was brought in and delivered to Cæſar. Cato immediately ſuſpected, and charged him with ſome traitorous deſign; and it was moved in the ſenate, that the billet ſhould be read publicly. Cæſar delivered it to Cato, who ſtood near him; and the latter had no ſooner caſt his eye upon it than he perceived it to be the hand of his own ſiſter Servilia, who was paſſionately in love with Cæſar, by whom ſhe had been debauched. He therefore threw it back to Cæſar, ſaying, "Take it, you ſot," and went on with his diſcourſe. Cato was always unfortunate amongſt the women. This Servilia was infamous for her commerce with Cæſar; and his other ſiſter, Servilia, was in ſtill worſe repute; for, though married to Lucullus, one of the firſt men in Rome, by whom ſhe alſo had a ſon, ſhe was divorced for her inſufferable irregularities. But what was moſt diſtreſsful to Cato, was, that the conduct of his own wife Attila, was by no means unexceptionable; and that, after having brought him two children, he was obliged to part with her.

 Upon

Upon his divorce from Attilia, he married Martia the daughter of Philip, a woman of good character; but this part of Cato's life, like the plots in the drama, is involved and intricate. Thraseas, upon the authority of Munatius, Cato's particular friend, who lived under the same roof with him, gives us this account of the matter. Amongst the friends and followers of Cato, some made a more open profession of their sentiments than others. Amongst these was Quintus Hortensius, a man of great dignity and politeness. Not contented merely with the friendship of Cato, he was desirous of a family alliance with him; and for this purpose, he scrupled not to request that his daughter Portia, who was already married to Bibulus, by whom she had two children, might be lent to him, as a fruitful soil for the purpose of propagation. The thing itself, he owned, was uncommon, but by no means unnatural or improper. For why should a woman in the flower of her age, either continue useless, till she is past child-bearing, or overburthen her husband with too large a family? The mutual use of women, he added, in virtuous families, would not only increase a virtuous offspring, but strengthen and extend the connections of society. Moreover, if Bibulus should be unwilling wholly to give up his wife, she should be restored after she had done him the honour of an alliance to Cato by her pregnancy. Cato answered, that he had the greatest regard for the friendship of Hortensius, but could not think of his application for another man's wife. Hortensius, however, would not give up the point here; but when he could not obtain Cato's daughter, he applied for his wife, saying, that she was yet a young woman, and Cato's family already large enough. He could not possibly make this request, upon a supposition that Cato had no regard for his wife; for she was at that very time pregnant. Notwithstanding, the latter, when he observed the violent inclination Hortensius had to be allied to him, did not absolutely refuse him; but said it was necessary to consult Martia's father Philip on the occasion. Philip, therefore, was applied to, and his daughter was espoused to Hortensius in the presence and with the consent of Cato. These circumstances are not related in the proper order of time; but speaking of Cato's connection with the women, I was led to mention them.

When

When the conspirators were executed, and Cæsar, who, on account of his calumnies in the senate, was obliged to throw himself on the people, had infused a spirit of insurrection into the worst and lowest of the citizens, Cato, being apprehensive of the consequences, engaged the senate to appease the multitude by a free gift of corn. This cost twelve hundred and fifty talents a year; but it had the desired effect *.

Metellus, upon entering on his office as tribune, held several seditious meetings, and published an edict, that Pompey should bring his troops into Italy, under the pretext of saving the city from the attempts of Catiline. Such was the pretence; but his real design was to give up the state into the hands of Pompey.

Upon the meeting of the senate, Cato, instead of treating Metellus with his usual asperity, expostulated with great mildness, and had even recourse to intreaty, intimating, at the same time, that his family had ever stood in the interest of the nobility. Metellus, who imputed Cato's mildness to his fears, was the more insolent on that account, and most audaciously asserted that he would carry his purpose into execution, whether the senate would or not. The voice, the air, the attitude of Cato, were changed in a moment; and, with all the force of eloquence, he declared, "That while he was living, Pompey "should never enter armed into the city." The senate neither approved of the conduct of Cato, nor of Metellus. The latter they considered as a desperate and profligate madman, who had no other aim than that of general destruction and confusion. The virtue of Cato, they looked upon as a kind of enthusiasm, which would ever lead him to *arm* in the cause of justice and the laws.

When the people came to vote for the edict, a number of aliens, gladiators, and slaves, armed by Metellus, appeared in the *forum*. He was also followed by several of the commons, who wanted to introduce Pompey, in hopes of a revolution; and his hands were strengthened by the prætorial

* This is almost one third more than the sum said to have been expended in the same distribution in the life of Cæsar; and even there it is incredibly large. But whatever might be the expence, the policy was bad; for nothing so effectually weakens the hands of government as this method of bribing the populace, and treating them as injudicious nurses do froward children.

prætorial power of Cæsar. Cato, on the other hand, had the principal citizens on his side; but they were rather sharers in the injury, than auxiliaries in the removal of it. The danger to which he was exposed was now so great, that his family was under the utmost concern. The greatest part of his friends and relations came to his house in the evening, and passed the night without either eating or sleeping. His wife and sisters bewailed their misfortunes with tears, while he himself passed the evening with the utmost confidence and tranquillity, encouraging the rest to imitate his example. He supped and went to rest as usual; and slept soundly till he was waked by his colleague Minutius Thermus. He went to the *forum*, accompanied by few, but met by many, who advised him to take care of his person. When he saw the temple of Castor surrounded by armed men, the steps occupied by gladiators, and Metellus himself seated on an eminence with Cæsar, turning to his friends, "Which," said he, "is most contemptible, the savage disposition, or the cowardice of him who brings such an army against a man who is naked and unarmed?" Upon this, he proceeded to the place with Thermus. Those that occupied the steps fell back to make way for him, but would suffer no one else to pass. Munatius only with some difficulty he drew along with him; and, as soon as he entered, he took his seat between Cæsar and Metellus, that he might, by that means, prevent their discourse. This embarrassed them not a little; and what added to their perplexity, was the countenance and approbation that Cato met with from all the honest men that were present, who, while they admired his firm and steady spirit, so strongly marked in his aspect, encouraged him to persevere in the cause of liberty, and mutually agreed to support him.

Metellus, enraged at this, proposed to read the edict. Cato put in his negative; and that having no effect, he wrested it out of his hand. Metellus then attempted to speak it from memory; but Thermus prevented him by putting his hand upon his mouth. When he found this ineffectual, and perceived that the people were gone over to the opposite party, he ordered his armed men to make a riot, and throw the whole into confusion. Upon this the people dispersed, and Cato was left alone, exposed to a storm of sticks and stones. But Muræna, though the former

former had so lately an information against him, would not desert him. He defended him with his gown from the danger to which he was exposed; intreated the mob to desist from their violence, and at length carried him off in his arms into the temple of Castor. When Metellus found the benches deserted, and the adversary put to the rout, he imagined he had gained his point, and again very modestly proceeded to confirm the edict. The adversary, however, quickly rallied and advanced with shouts of the greatest courage and confidence. Metellus's party, supposing that, by some means, they had got arms, was thrown into confusion, and immediately took to flight. Upon the dispersion of these, Cato came forward, and, by his encouragement and applause, established a considerable party against Metellus. The senate too voted that Cato should, at all events, be supported; and that an edict, so pregnant with every thing that was pernicious to order and good government, and had even a tendency to civil war, should be opposed with the utmost vigour.

Metellus still maintained his resolution; but finding his friends intimidated by the unconquered spirit of Cato, he came suddenly into the open court, assembled the people, said every thing that he thought might render Cato odious to them; and declared, that he would have nothing to do with the arbitrary principles of that man, or his conspiracy against Pompey, whose disgrace Rome might one day have severe occasion to repent.

Upon this he immediately set off for Asia to carry an account of these matters to Pompey. And Cato, by ridding the commonwealth of this troublesome tribune, and crushing, as it were, in him, the growing power of Pompey, obtained the highest reputation. But what made him still more popular, was his prevailing on the senate to desist from their purpose of voting Metellus infamous, and divesting him of the magistracy. His humanity and moderation in not insulting a vanquished enemy, were admired by the people in general; whilst men of political sagacity could see that he thought it prudent not to provoke Pompey too much.

Soon afterwards, Lucullus returned from the war, which being concluded by Pompey, gave that general, in some measure, the laurels; and being rendered obnoxious to the people, through the impeachment of Caius Memmius,

mius, who oppoſed him more from a view of making his court to Pompey than any perſonal hatred, he was in danger of loſing his triumphs. Cato, however, partly becauſe Lucullus was allied to him by marrying his daughter Servilia, and partly becauſe he thought the proceedings unfair, oppoſed Memmius, and by that means expoſed himſelf to great obloquy. But though diveſted of his tribunitial office, as of a tyrannical authority, he had ſtill credit enough to baniſh Memmius from the courts, and from the liſts. Lucullus, therefore, having obtained his triumph, attached himſelf to Cato, as to the ſtrongeſt bulwark againſt the power of Pompey. When this great man returned from the war, confident of his intereſt at Rome, from the magnificent reception he every where met with, he ſcrupled not to ſend a requiſition to the ſenate, that they would defer the election of conſuls till his arrival, that he might ſupport Piſo. Whilſt they were in doubt about the matter, Cato, not becauſe he was under any concern about deferring the election, but that he might intercept the hopes and attempts of Pompey, remonſtrated againſt the meaſure, and carried it in the negative. Pompey was not a little diſturbed at this; and concluding, that, if Cato were his enemy, he would be the greateſt obſtacle to his deſigns, he ſent for his friend Munatius, and commiſſioned him to demand two of Cato's nieces in marriage; the elder for himſelf, and the younger for his ſon. Some ſay that they were not Cato's nieces, but his daughters. Be that as it may; when Munatius opened his commiſſion to Cato, in the preſence of his wife and ſiſters, the women were not a little delighted with the ſplendour of the alliance. But Cato, without a moment's heſitation, anſwered, "Go, Munatius; go, and "tell Pompey, that Cato is not to be caught in a female "ſnare. Tell him, at the ſame time, that I am ſenſible "of the honour he does me; and whilſt he continues to "act as he ought to do, I ſhall have that friendſhip for "him which is ſuperior to affinity; but I will never give "hoſtages, againſt my country, to the glory of Pompey." The women, as it is natural to ſuppoſe, were chagrined: and even the friends of Cato blamed the ſeverity of his anſwer. But Pompey ſoon after gave him an opportunity of vindicating his conduct, by open bribery in a conſular election. "You ſee now," ſaid Cato to the women, "what

"would have been the consequence of my alliance with "Pompey. I should have had my share in all the aspersions that are thrown upon him." And they owned that he had acted right. However, if one ought to judge from the event, it is clear that Cato did wrong in rejecting the alliance of Pompey. By suffering it to devolve to Cæsar, the united power of those two great men went near to overturn the Roman empire. The commonwealth it effectually destroyed. But this would never have been the case, had not Cato, to whom the slighter faults of Pompey were obnoxious, suffered him, by thus strengthening his hands, to commit greater crimes. These consequences, however, were only impending at the period under our review. When Lucullus had a dispute with Pompey, concerning their institutions in Pontus, (for each wanted to confirm his own, as the former was evidently injured) he had the support of Cato; while Pompey, his junior in the senate, in order to increase his popularity, proposed the Agrarian law in favour of the army. Cato opposed it, and it was rejected; in consequence of which Pompey attached himself to Clodius, the most violent and factious of the tribunes; and much about the same time contracted his alliance with Cæsar, to which Cato, in some measure, led the way. The thing was thus. Cæsar, on his return from Spain, was at once a candidate for the consulship, and demanded a triumph. But as the laws of Rome required that those who sue for the supreme magistracy, should sue in person; and those who triumph should be without the walls, he petitioned the senate that he might be allowed to sue for the consulship by proxy. The senate, in general agreed to oblige Cæsar; and when Cato, the only one that opposed it, found this to be the case, as soon as it came to his turn, he spoke the whole day long, and thus prevented the doing of any business. Cæsar, therefore, gave up the affair of the triumph, entered the city, and applied at once for the consulship and the interest of Pompey. As soon as he was appointed consul, he married Julia; and as they had both entered into a league against the commonwealth, one proposed the laws for the distribution of lands amongst the poor, and the other seconded the proposal. Lucullus and Cicero, in conjunction with Bibulus, the other consul, opposed it. But Cato in particular, who suspected the pernicious consequences of

of Cæſar's connection with Pompey, was ſtrenuous againſt the motion; and ſaid it was not the diſtribution of lands that he feared ſo much as the rewards which the cajolers of the people might expect from their favours.

In this not only the ſenate agreed with him, but many of the people too, who were reaſonably offended by the unconſtitutional conduct of Cæſar. For whatever the moſt violent and the maddeſt of the tribunes propoſed for the pleaſure of the mob, Cæſar, to pay an abject court to them, ratified by the conſular authority. When he found his motion, therefore, likely to be overruled, his party had recourſe to violence, pelted Bibulus the conſul with dirt, and broke the rods of his *lictors*. At length, when darts begun to be thrown, and many were wounded, the reſt of the ſenate fled as faſt as poſſible out of the *forum*. Cato was the laſt that left it; and, as he walked ſlowly along, he frequently looked back, and execrated the wickedneſs and madneſs of the people. The Agrarian law, therefore, was not only paſſed, but they obliged the whole ſenate to take an oath that they would confirm and ſupport it; and thoſe that ſhould refuſe were ſentenced to pay a heavy fine. Neceſſity brought moſt of them into the meaſure; for they remembered the example of Metellus*, who was baniſhed for refuſing to comply, in a ſimilar inſtance, with the people. Cato was ſolicited by the tears of the female part of his family, and the intreaties of his friends, to yield and take the oath. But what principally induced him, was the remonſtrances and expoſtulations of Cicero; who repreſented, to him that there might not be ſo much virtue, as he imagined, in one man's diſſenting from a decree that was eſtabliſhed by the reſt of the ſenate; that to expoſe himſelf to certain danger, without even the poſſibility of producing any good effect, was perfect inſanity; and, what was ſtill worſe, to leave the commonwealth, for which he had undergone ſo many toils, to the mercy of innovators and uſurpers, would look as if he were weary, at leaſt, of his patriotic labours. Cato, he added, might do without Rome; but Rome could not do without Cato: his friends could not do without him; himſelf could not diſpenſe with his aſſiſtance and ſupport, while the audacious Clodius, by means of his tribunitial

* Metellus Numidicus.

bunitial authority, was forming the moſt dangerous machinations againſt him. By theſe, and the like remonſtrances, ſolicited at home, and in the *forum*, Cato, it is ſaid, was with difficulty prevailed on to take the oath; and that, his friend Favonius excepted, he was the laſt that took it.

Elated with this ſucceſs, Cæſar propoſed another act for diſtributing almoſt the whole province of Campania amongſt the poor. Cato alone oppoſed it. And though Cæſar dragged him from the bench, and conveyed him to priſon, he omitted not, nevertheleſs, to ſpeak as he paſſed in defence of liberty, to enlarge upon the conſequences of the act, and to exhort the citizens to put a ſtop to ſuch proceedings. The ſenate, with heavy hearts, followed Cato, and all the virtuous part of the people, with ſilent indignation. Cæſar was not inattentive to the public diſcontent that this proceeding occaſioned; but ambitiouſly expecting ſome conceſſions on the part of Cato, he proceeded to conduct him to priſon. At length, however, when he found theſe expectations vain, unable any longer to ſupport the ſhame to which this conduct expoſed him, he inſtructed one of the tribunes to reſcue him from his officers. The people, notwithſtanding, brought into his intereſt by theſe public diſtributions, voted him the province of Illyricum and all Gaul, together with four legions, for the ſpace of five years; though Cato foretold them, at the ſame time, that they were voting a tyrant into the citadel of Rome. They moreover created Clodius, contrary to the laws, (for he was of the patrician order) a tribune of the people; becauſe they knew he would, in every reſpect, accede to their wiſhes with regard to the baniſhment of Cicero. Calpurnius Piſo, the father of Cæſar's wife, and Aulus Gabinius*, a boſom friend of Pompey's, as we are told, by thoſe who knew him beſt, they created conſuls.

Yet, though they had every thing in their hands, and had gained one part of the people by favour and the other by fear, ſtill they were afraid of Cato. They remembered the pains it coſt them to overbear him, and that the violent and compulſive meaſures they had recourſe

* Plutarch does not mean to repreſent this friendſhip in any favourable light. The character of Gabinius was deſpicable in every reſpect, as appears from Cicero's oration for Sextius.

courſe, to did them but little honour. Clodius, too, ſaw that he could not diſtreſs Cicero, while ſupported by Cato; yet this was his great object; and, upon his entering on his tribunitial office, he had an interview with Cato; when, after paying him the compliment of being the honeſteſt man in Rome, he propoſed to him, as a teſtimony of his ſincerity, the government of Cyprus; an appointment which, he ſaid, had been ſolicited by many. Cato anſwered that, far from being a favour, it was a treacherous ſcheme and a diſgrace; upon which Clodius fiercely replied, "If it is not your pleaſure to go, it is mine that "you ſhall go." And ſaying this, he went immediately to the ſenate, and procured a decree for Cato's expedition. Yet he neither ſupplied him with a veſſel, a ſoldier, or a ſervant, two ſecretaries excepted, one of whom was a notorious thief, and the other a client of his own. Beſides, as if the charge of Cyprus and the oppoſition of Ptolemy were not a ſufficient taſk for him, he ordered him likewiſe to reſtore the Byzantine exiles. But his view in all this, was to keep Cato, as long as poſſible, out of Rome.

Cato, thus obliged to go, exhorted Cicero, who was at the ſame time cloſely hunted by Clodius, by no means to involve his country in a civil war, but to yield to the neceſſity of the times.

By means of his friend Canidius, whom he ſent before him to Cyprus, he negociated with Ptolemy in ſuch a manner, that he yielded without coming to blows; for Cato gave him to underſtand, that he ſhould not live in a poor or abject condition, but that he ſhould be appointed high prieſt to the Paphian Veuus*. While this was negociating, Cato ſtopped at Rhodes, at once waiting for Ptolemy's anſwer, and making preparations for the reduction of the iſland.

In

* This appointment ſeems to be but a poor exchange for a kingdom; but when it is remembered that, in the Pagan theology, the prieſts of the gods were not inferior in dignity to princes, and that moſt of them were of royal families;—when it is conſidered in what high reputation the Paphian Venus ſtood amongſt the ancients, and what a lucrative as well as honourable office that of her prieſt muſt have been, occaſioned by the offerings of the prodigious concourſe of people who came annually to pay their devotions at her temple, it will be thought that Ptolemy made no bad bargain for his little iſland.

In the mean time, Ptolemy king of Egypt, who had left Alexandria, upon ſome quarrel with his ſubjects, was on his way to Rome, in order to ſolicit his re-eſtabliſhment from Cæſar and Pompey, by means of the Roman arms. Being informed that Cato was at Rhodes, he ſent to him, in hopes that he would wait upon him. When his meſſenger arrived, Cato, who then happened to have taken phyſic, told him, that if Ptolemy wanted to ſee him, he might come himſelf. When he came, Cato neither went forward to meet him, nor did he ſo much as riſe from his ſeat, but ſaluted him as he would do a common perſon, and careleſsly bade him ſit down. Ptolemy was ſomewhat hurt by it at firſt, and ſurpriſed to meet with ſuch a ſupercilious ſeverity of manners in a man of Cato's mean dreſs and appearance. However, when he entered into converſation with him concerning his affairs, when he heard his free and nervous eloquence, he was eaſily reconciled to him. Cato, it ſeems, blamed his impolitic application to Rome: repreſented to him the happineſs he had left, and that he was about to expoſe himſelf to toils, the plagues of attendance, and what was ſtill worſe, to the avarice of the Roman chiefs, which the whole kingdom of Egypt, converted into money, could not ſatisfy. He adviſed him to return with his fleet, and be reconciled to his people, offering him at the ſame time his attendance and mediation; and Ptolemy, reſtored by his repreſentations, as it were from inſanity to reaſon, admired the diſcretion and ſincerity of Cato, and determined to follow his advice. His friends, nevertheleſs, brought him back to his former meaſures; but he was no ſooner at the door of one of the magiſtrates of Rome, than he repented of his folly, and blamed himſelf for rejecting the virtuous counſels of Cato, as for diſobeying the oracle of a god.

Ptolemy of Cyprus, as Cato's good ſtars would have it, took himſelf off by poiſon. As he was ſaid to have left a full treaſury, Cato being determined to go himſelf to Byzantium, ſent his nephew Brutus to Cyprus, becauſe he had not ſufficient confidence in Canidius: when the exiles were reconciled to the reſt of the citizens, and all things quiet in Byzantium, he proceeded to Cyprus. Here he found the royal furniture very magnificent in the articles of veſſels, tables, jewels, and purple, all which were to be

be converted into ready money. In the management of this affair he was very exact, attended at the sales, took the accounts himself, and brought every article to the best market. Nor would he trust to the common customs of sale-factors, auctioneers, bidders, or even his own friends; but had private conferences with the purchasers, in which he urged them to bid higher, so that every thing went off at the greatest rate. By this means he gave offence to many of his friends, and almost implacably affronted his particular friend Munatius. Cæsar, too, in his oration against him, availed himself of this circumstance, and treated him very severely. Munatius, however, tells us that this misunderstanding was not so much occasioned by Cato's distrust, as by his neglect of him, and by his own jealousy of Canidius: for Munatius wrote memoirs of Cato, which Thraseas has chiefly followed. He tells us, that he was amongst the last that arrived at Cyprus, and by that means found nothing but the refuse of the lodgings; that he went to Cato's apartments, and was refused admittance, because Cato was privately concerting something with Canidius; and that when he modestly complained of this conduct, he received a severe answer from Cato; who observed, with Theophrastus, that too much love was frequently the occasion of hatred; aud that he, because of the strength of his attachment to him, was angry at the slightest inattention. He told him, at the same time, that he made use of Canidius as a necessary agent, and because he had more confidence in him than in the rest, having found him honest, though he had been there from the first, and had opportunities of being otherwise. This conversation, which he had in private with Cato, the latter, he informs us, related to Canidius; and when this came to his knowledge, he would neither attend at Cato's entertainments, nor, though called upon, assist at his councils. Cato threatening to punish him for disobedience, and, as is usual to take a pledge from him*; Munatius paid no regard to it, but sailed for Rome, and long retained his resentment. Upon Cato's return, by means of Marcia, who at that time lived with her husband,

* When a magistrate refused a summons to the senate or public council, the penalty was to take some piece of furniture out of his house, and to keep it till he should attend. This they called *pignora capere*.

band, he and Munatius were both invited to fup with Barca. Cato, who came in after the reft of the company had taken their places, afked where he fhould take his place? Barca anfwered, where he pleafed. "Then," faid he, "I will take my place by Munatius." He, therefore, took his place next him, but he fhewed him no other marks of friendfhip during fupper; afterwards, however, at the requeft of Marcia, Cato wrote to him that he fhould be glad to fee him. He therefore waited on him at his own houfe, and being entertained by Marcia till the reft of the morning vifitors were gone, Cato came in and embraced him with great kindnefs. We have dwelt upon thefe little circumftances the longer, as, in our opinion, they contribute no lefs than more public and important actions, towards the clear delineation of manners and characters.

Cato in his expedition had acquired near feven thoufand talents of filver, and being under fome apprehenfions on account of the length of his voyage, he provided a number of veffels that would hold two talents and five hundred *drachmas* a piece. To each of thefe he tied a long cord, at the end of which was faftened a large piece of cork, fo that if any misfortune fhould happen to the fhip that contained them, thefe buoys might mark the fpot where they lay. The whole treafure, however, except a very little, was conveyed with fafety. Yet his two books of accounts, which he kept very accurate, were both loft; one by fhipwreck with his freedman Philargyrus, and the other by fire at Corcyra; for the failors, on account of the coldnefs of the weather, kept fires in the tents by night, and thus the misfortune happened. This troubled Cato, though Ptolemy's fervants, whom he had brought over with him, were fufficient vouchers for his conduct againft enemies and informers. For he did not intend thefe accounts merely as a proof of his honefty, but to recommend the fame kind of accuracy and induftry to others.

As foon as his arrival with the fleet was notified in Rome, the magiftrates, the priefts, the whole fenate, and multitudes of the people went down to the river to meet him, and covered both its banks, fo that his reception was fomething like a triumph. Yet there was an ill-timed haughtinefs in his conduct; for, though the confuls and prætors came to wait upon him, he did not fo much as attempt

attempt to make the ſhore where they were, but rowed careleſsly along in a royal ſix-oared galley, and did not land till he came into port with his whole fleet. The people, however, were ſtruck with admiration at the vaſt quantity of money that was carried along the ſtreets, and the ſenate, in full aſſembly, beſtowed the higheſt encomiums upon him, and voted him a prætorſhip extraordinary *, and the right of attending at the public ſhews in a *prætexta*, or purple-bordered gown. But theſe honours he thought proper to decline. At the ſame time he petitioned that they would grant his freedom to Nicias, an officer of Ptolemy's, in favour of whoſe diligence and fidelity he gave his own teſtimony. Philip, the father of Marcia, was conſul at that time, and his colleague reſpected Cato no leſs for his virtue, than Philip might for his alliance, ſo that he had in ſome meaſure the whole conſular intereſt in his hands. When Cicero returned from that exile to which he had been ſentenced by Clodius, his influence was conſiderable, and he ſcrupled not, in the abſence of Clodius, to pull down and deſtroy the tribunitial edicts which the latter had put up in the capitol. Upon this the ſenate was aſſembled, and Cicero, upon the accuſation of Clodius, made his defence, by alleging that Clodius had not been legally appointed tribune, and that, of courſe, every act of his office was null and void. Cato interrupted him, and ſaid, "That he was indeed ſenſible that the whole adminiſtration of Clodius had been wicked and abſurd;" but that if every act of his office were to be annulled, all that he had done in Cyprus would ſtand for nothing, becauſe his commiſſion iſſuing from a tribune not legally appointed, could not be valid: that Clodius, though he was of a patrician family, had not been choſen tribune, contrary to law, becauſe he had previouſly been enrolled in the order of plebeians by an act paſſed for that purpoſe; but that, if he had acted unjuſtly in his office, he was liable to perſonal impeachments, while at the ſame time the office itſelf retained its proper force and authority." This occaſioned a quarrel for ſome time between Cicero and Cato, but afterwards they were reconciled.

Cæſar,

* Cato was then but thirty-eight years of age, and conſequently too young to be prætor in the ordinary way, in which a perſon could not enter on that office till he was forty.

Cæſar, upon his return out of Gaul, was met by Pompey and Craſſus, and it was agreed that the two laſt ſhould again ſtand for the conſulſhip, that Cæſar ſhould retain his government five years longer, and that the beſt provinces, revenues, and troops, ſhould be ſecured to themſelves. This was nothing leſs than a diviſion of empire, and a plot againſt the liberties of the commonwealth. This dangerous junction deterred many men of diſtinguiſhed rank and integrity from their deſign of offering themſelves candidates for the conſulſhip. Cato, however, prevailed on Lucius Domitius, who married his ſiſter, not to give up the point, nor to reſign his pretenſions; for that the conteſt was not then for the conſulſhip, but for the liberties of Rome. The ſober part of the citizens agreed too, that the conſular power ſhould not be ſuffered to grow ſo enormous by the union of Craſſus and Pompey; but that, at all events, they were to be ſeparated, and Domitius encouraged and ſupported in the competition. They aſſured him at the ſame time, that he would have the voices of many of the people who were at preſent only ſilent through fear. Pompey's party, apprehenſive of this, lay in wait for Domitius, as he went before day by torch-light into the *campus martius*. The torchbearer was killed at the firſt ſtroke; the reſt were wounded and fled, Cato and Domitius alone excepted: for Cato, though he had received a wound in the arm, ſtill kept Domitius on the ſpot, and conjured him not to deſert the cauſe of liberty while he had life, but to oppoſe to the utmoſt thoſe enemies of their country, who ſhewed what uſe they intended to make of that power, which they ſought by ſuch execrable means.

Domitius, however, unable to ſtand the ſhock, retired, and Pompey and Craſſus were elected conſuls. Yet Cato gave up nothing for loſt, but ſolicited a prætorſhip for himſelf, that he might from thence, as from a kind of fort, militate againſt the conſuls, and not contend with them in the capacity of a private citizen. The conſuls, apprehenſive that the prætorial power of Cato would not be inferior even to the conſular authority, ſuddenly aſſembled a ſmall ſenate, and obtained a decree, that thoſe who were elected prætors ſhould immediately enter upon their office,

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office *, without waiting the uſual time to ſtand the charge, if any ſuch charge ſhould be brought againſt them, of bribery and corruption. By this means they brought in their own creatures and dependents, preſided at the election, and gave money to the populace. Yet ſtill the virtue of Cato could not totally loſe its weight. There were ſtill thoſe who had honeſty enough to be aſhamed of ſelling his intereſt, and wiſdom enough to think that it would be of ſervice to the ſtate to elect him even at the public expence. He therefore was nominated prætor by the votes of the firſt-called tribe; but Pompey ſcandalouſly pretending that he heard it thunder, broke up the aſſembly: for it is not common for the Romans to do any buſineſs if it thunders. Afterwards, by means of bribery, and by the excluſion of the virtuous part of the citizens from the aſſembly, they procured Vatinius to be returned prætor inſtead of Cato. Thoſe electors, it is ſaid, who voted from ſuch iniquitous motives, like ſo many culprits, immediately ran away. To the reſt that aſſembled and expreſſed their indignation, Cato was empowered by one of the tribunes to addreſs himſelf in a ſpeech; in the courſe of which he foretold, as if inſpired by ſome divine influence, all thoſe evils that then threatened the commonwealth; and ſtirred up the people againſt Pompey and Craſſus, who, in the conſciouſneſs of their guilty intentions, feared the controul of the prætorial power of Cato. In his return home he was followed by a greater multitude than all that been appointed prætors united.

When Caius Trebonius moved for the diſtribution of the conſular provinces, and propoſed giving Spain and Africa to one of the conſuls, and Syria and Egypt to the other, together with fleets and armies, and an unlimited power of making war, and extending dominion, the reſt of the ſenate, thinking oppoſition vain, forebore to ſpeak againſt the motion. Cato, however, before it was put to the vote, aſcended the *roſtrum* in order to ſpeak, but he was limited to the ſpace of two hours; and when he had ſpent this time in repetitions, inſtructions, and

* There was always a time allotted between nomination and poſſeſſion; that if any undue means had been made uſe of in the canvaſs they might be diſcovered.

and predictions, and was proceeding in his discourse, the lictor took him down from the rostrum. Yet still, when below amongst the people, he persisted to speak in behalf of liberty; and the people readily attended to him, and joined in his indignation, till the consul's beadle again laid hold of him and turned him out of the forum. He attempted, notwithstanding, to return to his place, and excited the people to assist him; which being done more than once, Trebonius, in a violent rage, ordered him to prison. Thither he was followed by the populace, to whom he addressed himself as he went, till, at last, Trebonius, through fear, dismissed him. Thus Cato was rescued that day. But afterwards, the people being partly over-awed, and partly corrupted, the consular party prevented Aquilius, one of the tribunes, by force of arms, from coming out of the senate-house into the assembly, wounded many, killed some, and thrust Cato, who said it thundered, out of the forum; so that the law was passed by compulsion. This rendered Pompey so obnoxious that the people were going to pull down his statues, but were prevented by Cato. Afterwards, when the law was proposed for the allotment of Cæsar's provinces, Cato addressing himself particularly to Pompey, told him, with great confidence, he did not then consider that he was taking Cæsar upon his shoulders; but when he began to find his weight, and could neither support it, nor shake him off, they would both fall together, and crush the commonwealth in their fall: and then he should find, too late, that the counsels of Cato were no less salutary for himself than intrinsically just. Yet Pompey, though he often heard these things, in the confidence of his fortune and his power, despised them, and feared no reverse from the part of Cæsar.

Cato was the following year appointed prætor, but he can hardly be said to have contributed so much to the dignity of that high office by the rectitude of his conduct, as to have derogated from it by the meanness of his dress; for he would often go to the prætorial bench without his robe or his shoes, and sit in judgment, even in capital cases, on some of the first personages in Rome. Some will have it, that he passed sentence, when he had drank after dinner, but that is not true. He was resolved to extirpate that extreme corruption which then prevailed amongst the people

people in elections of every kind: and, in order to effect this, he moved that a law should be passed in the senate, for every candidate, though no information should be laid, to declare upon oath in what manner he obtained his election. This gave offence to the candidates, and to the more mercenary part of the people. So that, as Cato was going in the morning to the tribunal, he was so much insulted and pelted with stones by the mob, that the whole court fled, and he with difficulty escaped into the rostrum. There he stood, and his firm and steady aspect soon hushed the clamours and disorders of the populace; so that when he spoke upon the subject, he was heard with a general silence *. The senate publicly testified their approbation of his conduct; but he answered, that no compliment could be paid to them at least for deserting the prætor, and declining to assist him when in manifest danger. This measure distressed the candidates considerably: for, on the one hand, they were afraid of giving bribes, and, on the other, they were apprehensive of losing their election, if it should be done by their opponents. They thought it best, therefore, jointly to deposit five hundred sestertia each †, then to canvass in a fair and legal manner, and if any one should be convicted of bribery he should forfeit his deposit. Cato was appointed guarantee of this agreement, and the money was to be lodged in his hand, but for this he accepted of sureties. When the day of election came, Cato stood next to the tribune who presided, and, as he examined the votes, one of the depositing candidates appeared to have made use of some fraud. He therefore ordered him to pay the money to the rest. But, after complimenting the integrity of Cato, they remitted the

* This circumstance in Cato's life affords a good comment on the following passage in Virgil, and at the same time the laboured dignity and weight of that verse,

—Pietate gravem et meritis si forte virum quem,

conveys a very strong and just idea of Cato.

Ac veluti magno in populo cum sæpe coorta est
Seditio, sævitque animis ignobile vulgus;
Jamque faces et saxa volant; furor arma ministrat,
Tum, pietate gravem et meritis si forte virum quem
Conspexere, silent, arrectisque auribus adstant.
Ille regit dictis animos, et pectora mulcet. VIRG. Æn. I.

† Cicero speaks of this agreement in one of his epistles to Atticus.

the fine, and ſaid that the guilt was a ſufficient puniſhment. Cato, however, rendered himſelf obnoxious to many by this conduct, who ſeemed diſpleaſed that he affected both the legiſlative and judicial powers. Indeed, there is hardly any authority ſo much expoſed to envy as the latter, and hardly any virtue ſo obnoxious as that of juſtice, owing to the popular weight and influence that it always carries along with it. For though he who adminiſters juſtice in a virtuous manner may not be reſpected as a man of valour, nor admired as a man of parts; yet his integrity is always productive of love and confidence. Valour produces fear, and parts create ſuſpicion: they are diſtinctions, moreover, which are rather given than acquired. One ariſes from a natural acuteneſs, the other from a natural firmneſs of mind. However, as juſtice is a virtue ſo eaſily practicable and attainable, the oppoſite vice is proportionably odious.

Thus Cato became obnoxious to the chiefs of Rome in general. But Pompey in particular, whoſe glory was to riſe out of the ruins of his power, laboured with unwearied aſſiduity, to procure impeachments againſt him. The incendiary Clodius, who had again entered the liſts of Pompey accuſed Cato of embezzling a quantity of the Cyprian treaſure, and of raiſing an oppoſition to Pompey, becauſe the latter had refuſed to accept of his daughter in marriage. Cato, on the other hand, maintained, that though he was not ſo much as ſupplied with a horſe, or a ſoldier, by the government, yet he had brought more treaſure to the commonwealth from Cyprus, than Pompey had done from ſo many wars and triumphs over the haraſſed world. He aſſerted, that he never even wiſhed for the alliance of Pompey, not becauſe he thought him unworthy, but becauſe of the difference of their political principles. "For my own "part," ſaid he, "I rejected the province offered me as an "appendage to my prætorſhip; but for Pompey, he arro-"gated ſome provinces to himſelf, and ſome he beſtowed "on his friends. Nay he has now, without even ſolicit-"ing your conſent, accommodated Cæſar in Gaul with "ſix thouſand ſoldiers. Such forces, armaments, and "horſes, are now, it ſeems, at the diſpoſal of private men: "and Pompey retains the title of commander and gene-"ral, while he delegates to others the legions and the "provinces; and continues within the walls to preſide at

elections

"elections, the arbiter of the mob, and the fabricator of "sedition. From this conduct his principles are ob-"vious. He holds it but one step from anarchy to abso-"lute power *." Thus Cato maintained his party against Pompey.

Marcus Favonius was the intimate friend and imitator of Cato, as Apollodorus Phalereus † is said to have been of Socrates, who was transported with his discourses even to madness or intoxication. This Favonius stood for the office of ædile, and apparently lost it; but Cato, upon examining the votes, and finding them all to be written in the same hand, appealed against the fraud, and the tribunes set aside the election. Favonius, therefore, was elected, and in the discharge of the several offices of his magistracy he had the assistance of Cato, particularly in the theatrical entertainments that were given to the people. In these Cato gave another specimen of his œconomy; for he did not allow the players and musicians crowns of gold, but of wild olive, such as they use in the Olympic games. Instead of expensive presents, he gave the Greeks beets and lettuces, and radishes and parsley; and the Romans he presented with jugs of wine, pork, figs, cucumbers, and faggots of wood. Some ridiculed the meanness of his presents, while others were delighted with this relaxation from the usual severity of his manners. And Favonius, who appeared only as a common person amongst the spectators, and had given up the management of the whole to Cato, declared the same to the people, and publicly applauded his conduct, exhorting him to reward merit of every kind. Curio, the colleague of Favonius, exhibited at the same time in the other theatre a very magnificent entertainment: but the people left him, and were much more entertained with seeing Favonius act the private citizen, and Cato master of the ceremonies. It is probable, however, that he took this upon him only to shew the folly of troublesome and expensive preparations in matters of

* This maxim has been verified in almost every state. When ambitious men aimed at absolute power, their first measure was to impede the regular movements of the constitutional government by throwing all into confusion, that they might ascend to monarchy as Æneas went to the throne of Carthage, involved in a cloud.

† See Plato's Phædo, and the beginning of the *Symposium*. This Apollodorus was surnamed *Manicus* from his passionate enthusiasm.

of mere amusement, and that the benevolence and good humour suitable to such occasions would have a better effect.

When Scipio, Hypsæus, and Milo, were candidates for the consulship, and, beside the usual infamous practices of bribery and corruption, had recourse to violence and murder, and civil war, it was proposed that Pompey should be appointed protector of the election. But Cato opposed this, and said that the laws should not derive their security from Pompey, but that Pompey should owe his to the laws.

However, when the consular power had been long suspended, and the *forum* was in some measure besieged by three armies, Cato, that things might not come to the worst, recommended to the senate to confer that power on Pompey as a favour, with which his own influence would otherwise invest him, and by that means to make a less evil the remedy for a greater. Bibulus, therefore, an agent of Cato's, moved in the senate that Pompey should be created sole consul; adding, that his administration would either be of the greatest service to the state, or that, at least, if the commonwealth must have a master, it would have the satisfaction of being under the auspices of the greatest man in Rome. Cato, contrary to every one's expectation, seconded the motion, intimating that any government was preferable to anarchy, and that Pompey promised fair for a constitutional administration, and for the preservation of the city.

Pompey being thus elected consul, invited Cato to his house in the suburbs. He received him with the greatest caresses and acknowledgments, and intreated him to assist in his administration, and to preside at his councils. Cato answered, that he had neither formerly opposed Pompey out of private enmity, nor supported him of late out of personal favour; but that the welfare of the state had been his motive in both: that, in private, he would assist him with his council whenever he should be called upon; but that, in public, he should speak his sentiments, whether they might be in his favour or not. And he did not fail to do as he had told him. For, soon after, when Pompey proposed severe punishments and penalties against those who had been guilty of bribery, Cato gave it as his opinion, that the past should be over-looked, and the future only adverted to: for that, if he should scrutinize

scrutinize into former offences of that kind, it would be difficult to say where it would end; and should he establish penal laws, *ex post facto*, it would be hard that those who were convicted of former offences should suffer for the breach of those laws which were then not in being. Afterwards, too, when impeachments were brought against several persons of rank, and some of Pompey's friends amongst the rest, Cato, when he observed that Pompey favoured the latter, reproved him with great freedom, and urged him to the discharge of his duty. Pompey had enacted, that encomiums should no longer be spoken in favour of the prisoner at the bar; and yet, he gave in to the court a written encomium * on Munatius Plancus †, when he was upon his trial; but Cato, when he observed this, as he was one of the judges, stopped his ears, and forbade the apology to be read. Plancus, upon this, objected to Cato's being one of the judges; yet he was condemned notwithstanding. Indeed, Cato gave the criminals in general no small perplexity; for they were equally afraid of having him for their judge, and of objecting to him; as in the latter case it was generally understood that they were unwilling to rely on their innocence, and by the same means were condemned. Nay, to object to the judgment of Cato, became a common handle of accusation and reproach.

Cæsar, at the same time that he was prosecuting the war in Gaul, was cultivating his interest in the city, by all that friendship and munificence could effect. Pompey saw this, and waked, as from a dream, to the warnings of Cato: yet he remained indolent; and Cato, who perceived the political necessity of opposing Cæsar, determined himself to stand for the consulship, that he might thereby oblige him either to lay down his arms or discover his designs. Cato's competitors were both men of credit; but Sulpicius ‡, who was one of them, had himself derived

* Dion calls this an eulogium and a petition, ἐπαινον τε ἁμα αὐτε και την ἱκετειαν.

† Munatius Plancus, who in the Greek is mistakenly called Flaccus, was then tribune of the people. He was accused by Cicero, and defended by Pompey, but unanimously condemned.

‡ The competitors were M. Claudius Marcellus, and Servius Sulpicius Rufus. The latter, according to Dion, was chosen for his knowledge of the laws, and the former for his eloquence.

rived great advantages from the authority of Cato. On this account, he was censured as ungrateful; though Cato was not offended; "For what wonder," said he, "is it, "that what a man esteems the greatest happiness, he "should not give up to another?" He procured an act in the senate, that no candidate should canvass by means of others. This exasperated the people, because it cut off at once the means of cultivating favour, and conveying bribes; and thereby rendered the lower order of citizens poor and insignificant. It was in some measure owing to this act that he lost the consulship; for he consulted his dignity too much to canvass in a popular manner himself; and his friends could not then do it for him.

A repulse, in this case, is for some time attended with shame and sorrow both to the candidate and his friends; but Cato was so little affected by it, that he anointed himself to play at ball, and walked as usual after dinner with his friends in the *forum*, without his shoes or his tunic. Cicero, sensible how much Rome wanted such a consul, at once blamed his indolence, with regard to courting the people on this occasion, and his inattention to future success; whereas he had twice applied for the prætorship. Cato answered, that his ill success in the latter case was not owing to the aversion of the people, but to the corrupt and compulsive measures used amongst them; while in an application for the consulship no such measures could be used; and he was sensible, therefore, that the citizens were offended by those manners which it did not become a wise man either to change for their sakes, or by repeating his application, to expose himself to the same ill success.

Cæsar had, at this time, obtained many dangerous victories over warlike nations; and had fallen upon the Germans, though at peace with the Romans, and slain three hundred thousand of them. Many of the citizens, on this occasion, voted a public thanksgiving; but Cato was of a different opinion, and said, "That Cæsar should be "given up to the nations he had injured, that his conduct "might not bring a curse upon the city; yet the gods," he said, "ought to be thanked, notwithstanding, that the "soldiers had not suffered for the madness and wicked- "ness of their general, but that they had in mercy spared "the state." Cæsar, upon this, sent letters to the senate full of invectives against Cato. When they were read,

Cato rose with great calmneſs, and in a ſpeech, ſo regular that it ſeemed premeditated, ſaid, that, with regard to the letters, as they contained nothing but a little of Cæſar's buffoonery, they deſerved not to be anſwered: and then, laying open the whole plan of Cæſar's conduct, more like a friend, who knew his boſom counſels, than an enemy, he ſhewed the ſenate that it was not the Britons * or the Gauls they had to fear, but Cæſar himſelf. This alarmed them ſo much, that Cæſar's friends were ſorry they had produced the letters that occaſioned it. Nothing, however, was then reſolved upon: only it was debated concerning the propriety of appointing a ſucceſſor to Cæſar; and when Cæſar's friends required, that, in caſe thereof, Pompey too ſhould relinquiſh his army, and give up his provinces; "Now," cried Cato, "is coming to paſs the event that I foretold †. It is obvious, "that Cæſar will have recourſe to arms; and that the "power which he has obtained by deceiving the people, "he will make uſe of to enſlave them." However, Cato had but little influence out of the ſenate, for the people were bent on aggrandizing Cæſar; and even the ſenate, while convinced by the arguments of Cato, was afraid of the people.

When the news was brought that Cæſar had taken Ariminum, and was advancing with his army towards Rome, the people in general, and even Pompey, caſt their eyes upon Cato, as on the only perſon who had foreſeen the original deſigns of Cæſar. "Had ye then," ſaid Cato, "attended to my counſels, you would neither now have "feared

* Amiot thinks we ought here to read Γερμανων, and not Βρεταννων.

† But was not this very impolitic in Cato? Was it not a vain ſacrifice to his ambition of prophecy? Cæſar could not long remain unacquainted with what had paſſed in the ſenate; and Cato's obſervation on this occaſion was not much more diſcreet than it would be to tell a madman, who had a flambeau in his hand, that he intended to burn a houſe. Cato, in our opinion, with all his virtue, contributed no leſs to the deſtruction of the commonwealth than Cæſar himſelf. Wherefore did he idly exaſperate that ambitious man, by objecting againſt a public thankſgiving for his victories? There was a prejudice in that part of Cato's conduct, which had but the ſhadow of virtue to ſupport it. Nay, it is more than probable, that it was out of ſpite to Cæſar, that Cato gave the whole conſular power to Pompey. It muſt be remembered that Cæſar had debauched Cato's ſiſter.

"feared the power of one man, nor would it have been "in one man that you ſhould have placed your hopes." Pompey anſwered, that "Cato had indeed been a better "prophet, but that he had himſelf acted a more friendly "part." And Cato then adviſed the ſenate to put every thing into the hands of Pompey; "For the authors of "great evils," he ſaid, "knew beſt how to remove "them." As Pompey perceived that his forces were inſufficient, and even the few that he had by no means hearty in his cauſe, he thought proper to leave the city. Cato, being determined to follow him, ſent his youngeſt ſon to Munatius, who was in the country of the Brutii, and took the eldeſt along with him. As his family, and particularly his daughters, wanted a proper ſuperintendant, he took Marcia again, who was then a rich widow; for Hortenſius was dead, and had left her his whole eſtate. This circumſtance gave Cæſar occaſion to reproach Cato with his avarice, and to call him the mercenary huſband. "For why," ſaid he, "did he part with her, if he had "occaſion for her himſelf? And, if he had not occaſion "for her, why did he take her again? The reaſon is "obvious. It was the wealth of Hortenſius. He lent "the young man his wife, that he might make her a rich "widow." But, in anſwer to this, one need only quote that paſſage of Euripides *,

Call Hercules a coward!

For it would be equally abſurd to reproach Cato with covetouſneſs, as it would be to charge Hercules with want of courage. Whether the conduct of Cato was altogether unexceptionable in this affair, is another queſtion. However, as ſoon as he had re-married Marcia, he gave her the charge of his family, and followed Pompey.

From that time, it is ſaid that he neither cut his hair, nor ſhaved his beard, nor wore a garland; but was uniform in his dreſs, as in his anguiſh for his country. On which ſide ſoever victory might for a while declare, he changed not on that account his habit. Being appointed to the government of Sicily, he paſſed over to Syracuſe; and finding that Aſinius Pollio was arrived at Meſſania with a detachment from the enemy, he ſent to him to demand

* This paſſage is in the firſt act of the *Hercules Furens*.

mand the reaſon of his coming; but Pollio only anſwered his queſtion by another, and demanded of Cato to know the cauſe of thoſe revolutions. When he was informed that Pompey had evacuated Italy, and was encamped at Dyrrhachium, "How myſterious," ſaid he, "are the "ways of Providence! When Pompey neither acted upon "the principles of wiſdom, nor of juſtice, he was invin-"cible; but now that he would ſave the liberties of his "country, his good fortune ſeems to have forſaken him. "Aſinius," he ſaid, "he could eaſily drive out of Sicily; "but as greater ſupplies were at hand, he was unwilling "to involve the iſland in war." He therefore adviſed the Syracuſans to conſult their ſafety by joining the ſtronger party; and ſoon after ſet ſail. When he came to Pompey, his conſtant ſentiments were, that the war ſhould be procraſtinated in hopes of peace; for that, if they came to blows, which party ſoever might be ſucceſsful, the event would be deciſive againſt the liberties of the ſtate. He alſo prevailed on Pompey, and the council of war, that neither any city ſubject to the Romans ſhould be ſacked, nor any Roman killed, except in the field of battle. By this he gained great glory, and brought over many, by his humanity, to the intereſt of Pompey.

When he went into Aſia for the purpoſe of raiſing men and ſhips, he took with him his ſiſter Servilia, and a little boy that ſhe had by Lucullus; for ſince the death of her huſband, ſhe had lived with him; and this circumſtance of putting herſelf under the eye of Cato; and of following him through the ſevere diſcipline of camps, greatly recovered her reputation; yet Cæſar did not fail to cenſure Cato even on her account.

Though Pompey's officers in Aſia did not think that they had much need of Cato's aſſiſtance; yet he brought over the Rhodians to their intereſt; and there leaving his ſiſter Servilia and her ſon, he joined Pompey's forces, which were now on a reſpectable footing, both by ſea and land. It was on this occaſion that Pompey diſcovered his final views. At firſt, he intended to have given Cato the ſupreme naval command; and he had then no fewer than five hundred men of war, beſide an infinite number of open galleys and tenders. Reflecting, however, or reminded by his friends, that Cato's great principle was on all occaſions to reſcue the commonwealth from the government

of

of an individual; and that, if invested with so considerable a power himself, the moment Cæsar should be vanquished, he would oblige Pompey too to lay down his arms, and submit to the laws; he changed his intentions, though he had already mentioned them to Cato, and gave the command of the fleet to Bibulus. The zeal of Cato, however, was not abated by this conduct. When they were on the eve of battle at Dyrrhachium, Pompey himself addressed and encouraged the army, and ordered his officers to do the same. Their addresses, notwithstanding, were coldly received. But when Cato rose and spoke, upon the principles of philosophy, concerning liberty, virtue, death, and glory; when, by his impassioned action, he shewed that he felt what he spoke, and that his eloquence took its glowing colours from his soul; when he concluded with an invocation to the gods, as witnesses of their efforts for the preservation of their country, the plaudits of the army rent the skies; and the generals marched on in full confidence of victory. They fought, and were victorious; though Cæsar's good genius availed him of the frigid caution and diffidence of Pompey, and rendered the victory incomplete. But these things have been mentioned in the life of Pompey. Amid the general joy that followed this success, Cato alone mourned over his country, and bewailed that fatal and cruel ambition, which covered the field with the bodies of citizens fallen by the hands of each other. When Pompey, in pursuit of Cæsar, proceeded to Thessaly, and left in Dyrrhachium a large quantity of arms and treasure, together with some friends and relations, he gave the whole in charge to Cato, with the command of fifteen cohorts only; for still he was afraid of his republican principles. If he should be vanquished, indeed, he knew he would be faithful to him; but if he should be victor, he knew, at the same time, that he would not permit him to reap the reward of conquest in the sweets of absolute power. Cato, however, had the satisfaction of being attended by many illustrious persons in Dyrrhachium.

After the fatal overthrow at Pharsalia, Cato determined in case of Pompey's death, to conduct the people under his charge to Italy, and then to retire into exile, far from the cognizance of the power of the tyrant; but if Pompey survived, he was resolved to keep his little forces together

gether for him. With this design, he passed into Corcyra, where the fleet was stationed; and would there have resigned his command to Cicero, because he had been consul and himself only prætor. But Cicero declined it, and set sail for Italy. Pompey the younger resented this defection, and was about to lay violent hands on Cicero and some others, but Cato prevented him by private expostulation; and thus saved the lives both of Cicero and the rest.

Cato, upon a supposition that Pompey the Great would make his escape into Egypt or Lybia, prepared to follow him, together with his little force, after having first given, to such as chose it, the liberty of staying behind. As soon as he had reached the African coast, he met with Sextus, Pompey's younger son, who acquainted him with the death of his father. This greatly afflicted the little band; but as Pompey was no more, they unanimously resolved to have no other leader than Cato. Cato, out of compassion to the honest men that had put their confidence in him, and because he would not leave them destitute in a foreign country, took upon him the command. He first made for Cyrene, and was received by the people, though they had before shut their gates against Labienus. Here he understood that Scipio, Pompey's father-in-law, was entertained by Juba; and that Appius Varus, to whom Pompey had given the government of Africa, had joined them with his forces. Cato, therefore, resolved to march to them by land, as it was now winter. He had got together a great many asses to carry water; and furnished himself also with cattle and other victualling provisions, as well as with a number of carriages. He had likewise in his train some of the people called Psylli *, who obviate

* These people were so called from their king Psyllus, whose tomb was in the region of the Syrtes. Varro tells us, that to try the legitimacy of their children, they suffer them to be bitten by a venomous serpent; and if they survive the wound, they conclude that they are not spurious. Crates Pergamenus says, there were a people of this kind at Paros on the Hellespont, called Ophiogenes, whose touch alone was a cure for the bite of a serpent. Celsus observes, that the Psylli suck out the poison from the wound, not by any superior skill or quality, but because they have courage enough to do it. Some writers have asserted that the Psylli have an innate quality in their constitution that is poisonous to serpents; and that the smell of it throws them into a profound sleep. Pliny maintains, that every man has in himself a natural

ate the bad effects of the bite of serpents, by sucking out the poison; and deprive the serpents themselves of their ferocity by their charms. During a continued march for seven days, he was always foremost, though he made use of neither horse nor chariot. Ever after the unfortunate battle of Pharsalia, he eat sitting *, intending it as an additional token of mourning, that he never lay down except to sleep.

By the end of winter he reached the place of his designation in Lybia, with an army of near ten thousand men. The affairs of Scipio and Varus were in a bad situation, by reason of the misunderstanding and distraction which prevailed between them, and which led them to pay their court with great servility to Juba, whose wealth and power rendered him intolerably arrogant. For when he first gave Cato audience, he took his place between Scipio and Cato. But Cato took up his chair, and removed it to the other side of Scipio; thus giving him the most honourable place, though he was his enemy, and had published a libel against him. Cato's adversaries have not paid proper regard to his spirit on this occasion, but they have been ready enough to blame him for putting Philostratus in the middle, when he was walking with him one day in Sicily, though he did it entirely out of regard to philosophy. In this manner he humbled Juba, who had considered Scipio and Varus as little more than his lieutenants; and he took care also to reconcile them to each other.

The whole army then desired him to take the command upon him; and Scipio and Varus readily offered to resign it: but he said, " He would not transgress the laws, for

tural poison for serpents; and that those creatures will shun the human saliva, as they would boiling water. The fasting saliva, in particular, if it comes within their mouths, kills them immediately. If, therefore, we may believe, that the human saliva is an antidote to the poison of a serpent, we shall have no occasion to believe, at the same time, that the Psylli were endowed with any peculiar qualities of this kind, but that their success in these operations arose, as Celsus says, *Ex audacia usu confirmatâ.* However, they made a considerable trade of it; and we are assured, that they have been known to import the African serpents into Italy, and other countries, to increase their gain. Pliny says, they brought scorpions into Sicily, but they would not live in that island.

* The consul Varro did the same after the battle of *Cannæ*. It was a ceremony of mourning.

"the ſake of which he was waging war with the man "who trampled upon them; nor, when he was only *pro-* "*prætor*, take the command from a *proconſul*." For Scipio had been appointed proconſul; and his name inſpired the generality with hopes of ſucceſs; for they thought a Scipio could not be beaten in Africa.

Scipio being eſtabliſhed commander in chief, to gratify Juba, was inclined to put all the inhabitants of Utica to the ſword, and to raze the city, as a place engaged in the intereſt of Cæſar. But Cato would not ſuffer it: he inveighed loudly in council againſt that deſign, invoking heaven and earth to oppoſe it; and, with much difficulty, reſcued that people out of the hands of cruelty. After which, partly on their application, and partly at the requeſt of Scipio, he agreed to take the command of the town, that it might neither willingly nor unwillingly fall into the hands of Cæſar. Indeed, it was a place very convenient and advantageous to thoſe who were maſters of it; and Cato added much to its ſtrength, as well as convenience. For he brought into it a vaſt quantity of bread-corn, repaired the walls, erected towers, and fortified it with ditches and ramparts. Then he diſarmed all the youth of Utica, and poſted them in the trenches under his eye: as for the reſt of the inhabitants, he kept them cloſe within the walls; but, at the ſame time, took great care that they ſhould ſuffer no injury of any kind from the Romans. And by the ſupply of arms, of money, and proviſions, which he ſent in great quantities to the camp, Utica came to be conſidered as the principal magazine.

The advice he had before given Pompey, he now gave to Scipio, "Not to riſk a battle with an able and experienced warrior, but to take the advantage of time, "which moſt effectually blaſts the growth of tyranny." Scipio, however, in his raſhneſs, deſpiſed theſe counſels, and once even ſcrupled not to reproach Cato with cowardice; aſking him, "Whether he could not be ſatisfied "with ſitting ſtill himſelf within walls and bars, unleſs "he hindered others from taking bolder meaſures upon "occaſion." Cato wrote back, "That he was ready to "croſs over into Italy with the horſe and foot which he "had brought into Africa, and, by bringing Cæſar upon "himſelf, to draw him from his deſign againſt Scipio." But Scipio only ridiculed the propoſal; and it was plain

that Cato now repented his giving up to him the command, since he saw that Scipio would take no rational scheme for the conduct of the war; and that, if he should, beyond all expectation, succeed, he would behave with no kind of moderation to the citizens.—It was therefore Cato's judgment, and he often declared it to his friends, "That, by reason of the incapacity and rashness of the "generals, he could hope no good end of the war; and "that, even if victory should declare for them, and Cæsar "be destroyed, for his part, he would not stay at Rome, "but fly from the cruelty and inhumanity of Scipio, who "already threw out insolent menaces against many of the "Romans."

The thing came to pass sooner than he expected. About midnight a person arrived from the army, whence he had been three days in coming, with news that a great battle had been fought at Thapsus; that all was lost; that Cæsar was master of both the camps; and that Scipio and Juba were fled with a few troops, which had escaped the general slaughter.

On the receipt of such tidings, the people of Utica, as might be expected amidst the apprehensions of night and war, were in the utmost distraction, and could scarce keep themselves within the walls. But Cato making his appearance among the citizens, who were running up and down the streets with great confusion and clamour, encouraged them in the best manner he could. To remove the violence of terror and astonishment, he told them the case might not be so bad as it was represented, the misfortune being possibly exaggerated by report; and thus he calmed the present tumult. As soon as it was light, he summoned to the temple Jupiter, the three hundred, whom he made use of as a council. These were Romans who trafficked there in merchandise and exchange of money; and to them he added all the senators, and their sons. While they were assembling, he entered the house with great composure and firmness of look, as if nothing extraordinary had happened; and read a book which he had in his hand. This contained an account of the stores, the corn, the arms, and other implements of war, and the musters.

When they were met, he opened the matter "With "commending the three hundred, for the extraordinary "alacrity and fidelity they had shewn in serving the pub- "lic

"lic cause with their purses, their persons, and their "counsels; and exhorting them not to entertain different "views, or to endeavour to save themselves by flight. "For," continued he, "if you keep in a body, Cæsar will "not hold you in such contempt, if you continue the war; "and you will be more likely to be spared, if you have "recourse to submission. I desire you will consider the "point thoroughly, and what resolution soever you may "take, I will not blame you. If you are inclined to go "with the stream of fortune, I shall impute the change to "the necessity of the times. If you bear up against their "threatening aspect, and continue to face danger in the "cause of liberty, I will be your fellow-soldier, as well "as captain, till our country has experienced the last issues "of her fate: Our country, which is not in Utica, or "Adrymettum, but Rome; and she, in her vast resources, "has often recovered herself from greater falls than this. "Many resources we certainly have at present; and the "principal is, that we have to contend with a man whose "occasions oblige him to attend to various objects. Spain "is gone over to young Pompey, and Rome, as yet un-"accustomed to the yoke, is ready to spurn it from her, "and to rise on any prospect of change. Nor is danger "to be declined. In this you may take your enemy for a "pattern, who is prodigal of his blood in the most ini-"quitous cause; whereas, if you succeed, you will live "extremly happy; if you miscarry, the uncertainties "of war will be terminated with a glorious death. How-"ever, deliberate among yourselves as to the steps you "should take, first intreating heaven to prosper your de-"terminations, in a manner worthy the courage and zeal "you have already shewn."

This speech of Cato's inspired some with confidence, and even with hope; and the generality were so much affected with his intrepid, his generous, and humane turn of mind, that they almost forgot their present danger; and looking upon him as the only general that was invincible, and superior to all fortune, "They desired him to "make what use he thought proper of their fortunes and "their arms; for that it was better to die under his ban-"ner, than to save their lives at the expence of betraying "so much virtue." One of the council observed the expediency of a decree for enfranchising the slaves, and many commended

commend the motion: Cato, however, said, "He would "not do that, because it was neither juſt nor lawful; "but ſuch as their maſters would voluntarily diſcharge, "he would receive, provided they were of proper age to "bear arms." This many promiſed to do; and Cato withdrew, after having ordered liſts to be made out of all that ſhould offer.

A little after this, letters were brought him from Juba and Scipio. Juba, who lay with a ſmall corps, concealed in the mountains, deſired to know Cato's intentions; propoſing to wait for him if he left Utica, or to aſſiſt him if he choſe to ſtand a ſiege. Scipio alſo lay at anchor under a promontory near Utica, expecting an anſwer on the ſame account.

Cato thought it adviſeable to keep the meſſengers till he ſhould know the final determination of the three hundred. All of the patrician order, with great readineſs enfranchiſed and armed their ſlaves; but as for the three hundred, who dealt in traffic and loans of money at high intereſt, and whoſe ſlaves were a conſiderable part of their fortune, the impreſſion which Cato's ſpeech had made upon them, did not laſt long. As ſome bodies eaſily receive heat, and as eaſily grow cold again when the fire is removed; ſo the ſight of Cato warmed and liberalized theſe traders; but when they came to conſider the matter among themſelves, the dread of Cæſar ſoon put to flight their reverence for Cato, and for virtue. For thus they talked—"What are we, and "what is the man whoſe orders we refuſe to receive? Is it "not Cæſar, into whoſe hands the whole power of the "Roman empire is fallen? And ſurely none of us is a "Scipio, a Pompey, or a Cato. Shall we, at a time "when their fears make all men entertain ſentiments be-"neath their dignity—Shall we, in Utica, fight for the "liberty of Rome, with a man againſt whom Cato and "Pompey the Great durſt not make a ſtand in Italy? "Shall we enfranchiſe our ſlaves to oppoſe Cæſar, who "have no more liberty ourſelves than that conqueror is "pleaſed to leave us? Ah! wretches that we are! Let us "at laſt know ourſelves, and ſend deputies to intercede "with him for mercy." This was the language of the moſt moderate among the three hundred: but the greateſt part of them lay in wait for the patricians, thinking, if they could ſeize upon them, they ſhould more eaſily make their peace with

with Cæsar. Cato suspected the change, but made no remonstrances against it: he only wrote to Scipio and Juba, to keep at a distance from Utica, because the three hundred were not to be depended upon.

In the mean time a considerable body of cavalry, who had escaped out of the battle, approached Utica, and despatched three men to Cato, though they could come to no unanimous resolution. For some were for joining Juba, some Cato, and others were afraid to enter Utica. This account being brought to Cato, he ordered Marcus Rubrius to attend to the business of the three hundred, and quietly take down the names of such as offered to set free their slaves, without pretending to use the least compulsion. Then he went out of the town, taking the senators with him, to a conference with the principal officers of the cavalry. He intreated their officers not to abandon so many Roman senators; nor to choose Juba, rather than Cato, for their general, but to join and mutually contribute to each other's safety, by entering the city, which was impregnable in point of strength, and had provisions and every thing necessary for defence for many years. The senators seconded this application with prayers and tears. The officers went to consult the troops under their command; and Cato, with the senators, sat down upon one of the mounds to wait their answer.

At that moment Rubrius came up in great fury, inveighing against the three hundred, who, he said, behaved in a very disorderly manner, and were raising commotions in the city. Upon this, many of the senators thought their condition desperate, and gave into the utmost expressions of grief. But Cato endeavoured to encourage them, and requested the three hundred to have patience.

Nor was there any thing moderate in the proposals of the cavalry. The answer from them was, "That they "had no desire to be in the pay of Juba; nor did they "fear Cæsar while they should have Cato for their general; "but to be shut up with Uticans, Phœnicians, who would "change with the wind, was a circumstance which they "could not bear to think of. For," said they, "if they are "quiet now, yet when Cæsar arrives, they will betray us "and conspire our destruction. Whoever, therefore, de- "sires us to range under his banners there, must first expel "the Uticans, or put them to the sword, and then call us "into

"into a place clear of enemies and barbarians." These proposals appeared to Cato extremely barbarous and savage: however, he mildly answered, "That he would "talk with the three hundred about them." Then entering the city again, he applied to that set of men, who now no longer, out of reverence to him, dissembled or palliated their designs. They openly expressed their resentment, that any citizens should presume to lead them against Cæsar, with whom all contest was beyond their power and their hopes. Nay, some went so far as to say, "That the "senators ought to be detained in the town till Cæsar "came." Cato let this pass as if he heard it not; and, indeed, he was a little deaf.

But being informed, that the cavalry were marching off, he was afraid that the three hundred would take some desperate step with respect to the senators; and he therefore went in pursuit of them with his friends. As he found they were got under march, he rode after them. It was with pleasure they saw him approach; and they exhorted him to go with them, and save his life with theirs. On this occasion, it is said, that Cato shed tears, while he interceded with extended hands in behalf of the senators. He even turned the heads of some of their horses, and laid hold of their armour, till he prevailed with them to stay, at least, that day, to secure the retreat of the senators.

When he came back with them, and had committed the charge of the gates to some, and the citadel to others, the three hundred were under great apprehensions of being punished for their inconstancy, and sent to beg of Cato, by all means, to come and speak to them. But the senators would not suffer him to go. They said they would never let their guardian and deliverer come into the hands of such perfidious and traitorous men. It was now, indeed, that Cato's virtue appeared to all ranks of men in Utica in the clearest light, and commanded the highest love and admiration. Nothing could be more evident, than that the most perfect integrity was the guide of his actions. He had long resolved to put an end to his being, and yet he submitted to inexpressible labours, cares, and conflicts, for others; that, after he had secured their lives, he might relinquish his own. For his intentions, in that respect

respect, were obvious enough, though he endeavoured to conceal them.

Therefore, after having satisfied the senators as well as he could, he went alone to wait upon the three hundred, "They thanked him for the favour, and intreated him "to trust them and make use of their services; but as they "were not Cato's, nor had Cato's dignity of mind, "they hoped he would pity their weakness. They "told him they had resolved to send deputies to Cæsar, to "intercede first and principally for Cato. If that request "should not be granted, they would have no obligation "to him for any favour to themselves; but as long as they "had breath, would fight for Cato." Cato made his acknowledgments for their regard, and advised them to send immediately to intercede for themselves. "For me," said he, "intercede not. It is for the conquered to turn "suppliants, and for those who have done an injury to "beg pardon. For my part, I have been unconquered "through life, and superior in the thing I wished to be; "for in justice and honour I am Cæsar's superior. Cæsar "is the vanquished, the falling man, being now clearly "convicted of those designs against his country, which he "had long denied."

After he had thus spoken to the three hundred, he left them; and being informed, that Cæsar was already on his march to Utica, "Strange!" said he, "it seems "he takes us for men." He then went to the senators, and desired them to hasten their flight while the cavalry remained. He likewise shut all the gates, except that which leads to the sea; appointed ships for those who were to depart; provided for good order in the town; redressed grievances; composed disturbances, and furnished all who wanted with the necessary provisions for the voyage. About this time Marcus Octavius * approached the place with two legions; and, as soon as he had encamped, sent to desire Cato to settle with him the business of the command. Cato gave the messengers no answer, but turning to his friends, said, "Need we wonder that our cause has not prospered, "when

* The same who commanded Pompey's fleet.

"when we retain our ambition on the very brink of "ruin?"

In the mean time, having intelligence that the cavalry, at their departure, were taking the goods of the Uticans as lawful prize, he haſtened up to them, and ſnatched the plunder out of the hands of the foremoſt: upon which they all threw down what they had got, and retired in ſilence, dejected and aſhamed. He then aſſembled the Uticans, and applied to them in behalf of the three hundred, deſiring them not to exaſperate Cæſar againſt thoſe Romans, but to act in concert with them, and conſult each other's ſafety. After which he returned to the ſea-ſide to look upon the embarkation: and ſuch of his friends and acquaintances as he could perſuade to go, he embraced, and diſmiſſed with great marks of affection. His ſon was not willing to go with the reſt; and he thought it was not right to inſiſt on his leaving a father he was ſo fond of. There was one Statyllius *, a young man, who affected a firmneſs of reſolution above his years, and, in all reſpects, ſtudied to appear like Cato, ſuperior to paſſion. As this young man's enmity to Cæſar was well known, Cato deſired him by all means to take ſhip with the reſt; and, when he found him bent upon ſtaying, he turned to Apollonides the ſtoic, and Demetrius the Peripatetic, and ſaid, "It is your buſineſs to reduce this man's "extravagance of mind, and to make him ſee what is for "his good." He now diſmiſſed all except ſuch as had buſineſs of importance with him; and upon theſe he ſpent that night and great part of the day following.

Lucius Cæſar, a relation of the conqueror, who intended to intercede for the three hundred, deſired Cato to aſſiſt him in compoſing a ſuitable ſpeech. "And for you," ſaid he, "I ſhall think it an honour to become the moſt "humble ſuppliant, and even to throw myſelf at his feet." Cato, however, would not ſuffer it: "If I choſe to be "indebted," ſaid he, "to Cæſar for my life, I ought to go "in perſon, and without any mediator; but I will not "have any obligation to a tyrant in a buſineſs by which "he ſubverts the laws. And he does ſubvert the laws, "by

* This brave young Roman was the ſame who, after the battle of Philippi, went through the enemy, to inquire into the condition of Brutus's camp, and was ſlain in his return by Cæſar's ſoldiers.

"by ſaving, as a maſter, thoſe over whom he has no right "of authority. Nevertheleſs, we will conſider, if you "pleaſe, how to make your application moſt effectual in "behalf of the three hundred."

After he had ſpent ſome time with Lucius Cæſar upon this affair, he recommended his ſon and friends to his protection, conducted him a little on his way, and then took his leave, and retired to his own houſe. His ſon and the reſt of his friends being aſſembled there, he diſcourſed with them a conſiderable time; and, among other things, charged the young man to take no ſhare in the adminiſtration. "For the ſtate of affairs," ſaid he, "is ſuch, "that it is impoſſible for you to fill any office in a manner "worthy of Cato; and to do it otherwiſe, would be un-"worthy of yourſelf."

In the evening he went to the bath; where bethinking himſelf of Statyllius, he called out aloud to Apollonides, and ſaid, "have you taken down the pride of that young "man? and is he gone without bidding us farewel?" "No indeed," anſwered the philoſopher, "we have taken "a great deal of pains with him; but he continues as "lofty and reſolute as ever; he ſays he will ſtay, and cer-"tainly follow your conduct." Cato then ſmiled, and ſaid, "That will ſoon be ſeen."

After bathing, he went to ſupper, with a large company, at which he ſate, as he had always done ſince the battle of Pharſalia; for (as we obſerved above) he never now lay down except to ſleep. All his friends, and the magiſtrates of Utica, ſupped with him. After ſupper, the wine was ſeaſoned with much wit and learning; and many queſtions in philoſophy were propoſed and diſcuſſed. In the courſe of the converſation, they came to the paradoxes of the ſtoics (for ſo their maxims are commonly called), and to this in particular, "That the good man "only is free, and all bad men are ſlaves *." The Peripatetic, in purſuance of his principles, took up the argument againſt it. Upon which, Cato attacked him with great warmth, and in a louder and more vehement accent than uſual, carried on a moſt ſpirited diſcourſe to a conſiderable length. From the tenor of it, the whole company perceived, he had determined to put an end to his being,

* This was not only the ſentiment of the ſtoics, but of Socrates.

being, to extricate himſelf from the hard conditions on which he was to hold it.

As he found a deep and melancholy ſilence the conſequence of his diſcourſe, he endeavoured to recover the ſpirits of his gueſts, and to remove their ſuſpicions, by talking of their preſent affairs, and expreſſing his fears both for his friends and partizans who were upon their voyage; and for thoſe who had to make their way thro' dry deſerts, and a barbarous country.

After the entertainment was over, he took his uſual evening walk with his friends, and gave the officers of the guards ſuch orders as the occaſion required, and then retired to his chamber. The extraordinary ardour with which he embraced his ſon and his frieuds at this parting, recalled all their ſuſpicions. He lay down, and began to read Plato's book on the immortality of the ſoul; but before he had gone through with it, he looked up, and took notice that his ſword was not at the head of his bed, where it uſed to hang; for his ſon had taken it away while he was at ſupper. He, therefore, called his ſervant, and aſked him, who had taken away his ſword? As the ſervant made no anſwer, he returned to his book; and, after a while, without any appearance of haſte or hurry, as if it was only by accident that he called for the ſword, he ordered him to bring it. The ſervant ſtill delayed to bring it, and he had patience till he had read out his book: but then he called his ſervants one by one, and in a louder tone demanded his ſword. At laſt he ſtruck one of them ſuch a blow on the mouth, that he hurt his own hand; and growing more angry, and raiſing his voice ſtill higher, he cried, "I am betrayed and delivered naked, to my "enemy by my ſon and my ſervants." His ſon then ran in with his friends, and tenderly embracing him, had recourſe to tears and intreaties. But Cato roſe up, and, with a ſtern and awful look, thus expreſſed himſelf:—
"When, and where, did I ſhew any ſigns of diſtraction, "that nobody offers to diſſuade me from any purpoſe I "may ſeem to be wrong in, but I muſt be hindered from "purſuing my reſolutions, thus diſarmed? And you, "young man, why do not you bind your father; bind his "hands behind his back, that when Cæſar comes, he "may find me utterly incapable of reſiſtance? As to a "ſword, I have no need of it to deſpatch myſelf; for if I do

"do but hold my breath a while, or dafh my head againft "the wall, it will anfwer the purpofe as well."

Upon his fpeaking in this manner, the young man went out of the chamber weeping, and with him all the reft, except Demetrius and Apollonides. To thefe philofophers, he addreffed himfelf in a milder tone.—"Are you alfo "determined to make a man of my age live whether he "will or no? And do you fit here in filence to watch "me? Or do you bring any arguments to prove, that, "now Cato has no hopes from any other quarter, it is no "difhonour to beg mercy of his enemy? Why do not you "begin a lecture to inform me better, that, difmiffing the "opinions in which you and I have lived, we may, through "Cæfar's means, grow wifer, and fo have a ftill greater "obligation to him? As yet I have determined nothing "with refpect to myfelf; but I ought to have it in my "power to put my purpofe in execution, when I have "formed it. And, indeed, I fhall, in fome meafure, "confult with you, for I fhall proceed in my deliberations "upon the principles of your philofophy. Be fatisfied "then, and go tell my fon, if perfuafion will not do, not "to have recourfe to conftraint."

They made no anfwer, but went out; the tears falling from their eyes as they withdrew. The fword was fent in by a little boy. He drew, and examined it, and finding the point and the edge good, "Now," faid he, "I am "mafter of myfelf." Then laying down the fword, he took up the book again, and, it is faid, he perufed the whole twice *. After which, he flept fo found, that he was heard by thofe who were in waiting without. About midnight he called for two of his freedmen, Cleanthes the phyfician, and Butas, whom he generally employed about public bufinefs. The latter he fent to the port, to fee whether all the Romans had put off to fea, and bring him word.

In the mean time he ordered the phyfician to drefs his hand, which was inflamed by the blow he had given his fervant. This was fome confolation to the whole houfe, for now they thought he had dropt his defign againft his life. Soon after this, Butas returned, and informed them that they were all got off except Craffus, who had been detained

* Yet this very dialogue condemns fuicide in the ftrongeft terms.

detained by ſome buſineſs, but that he intended to embark very ſoon, though the wind blew hard, and the ſea was tempeſtuous. Cato, at this news, ſighed in pity of his friends at ſea, and ſent Butas again, that if any of them happened to have put back, and ſhould be in want of any thing, he might acquaint him with it.

By this time the birds began to ſing*, and Cato fell again into a little ſlumber. Butas, at his return, told him, all was quiet in the harbour: upon which, Cato ordered him to ſhut the door, having firſt ſtretched himſelf on the bed, as if he deſigned to ſleep out the reſt of the night. But after Butas was gone, he drew his ſword, and ſtabbed himſelf under the breaſt. However, he could not ſtrike hard enough on account of the inflammation in his hand, and therefore did not preſently expire, but in the ſtruggle with death fell from the bed, and threw down a little geometrical table that ſtood by.

The noiſe alarming the ſervants, they cried out, and his ſon and his friends immediately entered the room. They found him weltering in his blood, and his bowels fallen out: at the ſame time he was alive, and looked upon them.—They were ſtruck with inexpreſſible horror. The phyſician approached to examine the wound, and finding the bowels uninjured, he put them up, and began to ſew up the wound. But as ſoon as Cato came a little to himſelf, he thruſt away the phyſician, tore open the wound, plucked out his own bowels, and immediately expired.

In leſs time than one would think all the family could be informed of this ſad event, the three hundred were at the door; and a little after, all the people of Utica thronged about it, with one voice, calling him "their benefactor, their ſaviour, the only free and unconquered man." This they did, though, at the ſame time, they had intelligence that Cæſar was approaching. Neither fear, nor the flattery of the conqueror, nor the factious diſputes that prevailed among themſelves, could divert them from doing honour to Cato. They adorned the body in a magnificent manner, and, after a ſplendid proceſſion buried it near the ſea; where now ſtands his ſtatue, with a ſword in the right hand.

This

* ——— Ο' ορνις κατελαμβανε την εω καλων. Athenæ. l. x.

This great bufinefs over, they began to take meafures for faving themfelves and their city. Cæfar had been informed by perfons who went to furrender themfelves, that Cato remained in Utica, without any thoughts of flight; that he provided for the efcape of others indeed, but that himfelf, with his friends and his fon, lived there without any appearance of fear or apprehenfion. Upon thefe circumftances he could form no probable conjecture. However, as it was a great point with him, to get him into his hands, he advanced to the place, with his army, with all poffible expedition. And when he had intelligence of Cato's death, he is reported to have uttered this fhort fentence, "Cato, I envy thee thy death, fince thou "couldeft envy me the glory of faving thy life." Indeed, if Cato had deigned to owe his life to Cæfar, he would not fo much have tarnifhed his own honour, as to have added to that of the conqueror. What might have been the event is uncertain; but, in all probability, Cæfar would have inclined to the merciful fide.

Cato died at the age of forty-eight. His fon fuffered nothing from Cæfar; but, it is faid, he was rather immoral, and that he was cenfured for his conduct with refpect to women. In Cappadocia he lodged at the houfe of Marphadates, one of the royal family, who had a very handfome wife; and as he ftayed there a longer time than decency could warrant, fuch jokes as thefe were paffed upon him: "Cato goes the morrow after the thirtieth day "of the month."—"Porcius and Marphadates are two "friends who have but one *foul*;" for the wife of Marphadates was named *Pfyche*, which fignifies *foul*.—"Cato "is a great and generous man and has a royal *foul*." Neverthelefs, he wiped off all afperfions by his death: for fighting at Philippi, againft Octavius Cæfar and Antony, in the caufe of liberty, after his party gave way, he difdained to fly. Inftead of flipping out of the action, he challenged the enemy to try their ftrength with Cato; he animated fuch of his troops as had ftood their ground, and fell, acknowledged by his adverfaries a prodigy of valour.

Cato's daughter was much more admired for her virtues. She was not inferior to her father, either in prudence or in fortitude; for being married to Brutus, who killed Cæfar, fhe was trufted with the fecret of the confpiracy, and put a period to her life, in a manner worthy of

of her birth and of her virtue; as we have related in the life of Brutus.

As for Statyllius, who promised to imitate the pattern of Cato, he would have despatched himself soon after him, but was prevented by the philosophers. He approved himself afterwards to Brutus a faithful and able officer, and fell in the battle of Philippi.

AGIS.

IT is not without appearance of probability that some think the fable of Ixion designed to represent the fate of ambitious men. Ixion took a cloud instead of Juno to his arms, and the Centaurs were the offspring of their embrace: the ambitious embrace honour, which is only the image of virtue; and governed by different impulses, actuated by emulation and all the variety of passions, they produce nothing pure and genuine; the whole issue is of a preposterous kind. The shepherds in Sophocles say of their flocks,

> —These are our subjects, yet we serve them,
> And listen to their mute command.

The same may be truly affirmed of those great statesmen who govern according to the capricious and violent inclinations of the people. They become slaves to gain the name of magistrates and rulers. As in a ship those at the oar can see what is before them better than the pilot, and yet are often looking back to him for orders: so they who take their measures of administration only with a view to popular applause, are called governors indeed, but, in fact, are no more than slaves of the people.

The complete, the honest statesman, has no farther regard to the public opinion, than as the confidence it gains him facilitates his designs, and crowns them with success. An ambitious young man may be allowed, indeed, to value himself upon his great and good actions, and to expect his portion of fame. For virtues, as Theoprastus says, when they first begin to grow in persons of that age and disposition, are cherished and strengthened by praise, and afterwards increase in proportion as the love of glory increases. But an immoderate passion for fame, in all affairs

affairs is dangerous, and in political matters destructive. For, joined to great authority, this passion drives all that are possessed with it into folly and madness, while they no longer think that glorious which is good, but account whatever is glorious to be also good and honest. Therefore, as Phocion said to Antipater, when he desired some thing of him inconsistent with justice, "You cannot have "Phocion for your friend and flatterer too;" this, or something like it, should be said to the multitude, "You "cannot have the same man both for your governor and "your slave." For that would be no more than exemplifying the fable of the serpent. The tail, it seems, one day, quarrelled with the head, and, instead of being forced always to follow, insisted that it should lead in its turn. Accordingly, the tail undertook the charge, and, as it moved forward at all adventures, it tore itself in a terrible manner; and the head which was thus obliged, against nature, to follow a guide that could neither see nor hear, suffered likewise in its turn. We see many under the same predicament, whose object is popularity in all the steps of their administration. Attached entirely to the capricious multitude, they produce such disorders as they can neither redress nor restrain.

These observations on popularity were suggested to us, by considering the effects of it in the misfortunes of Tiberius and Caius Gracchus. In point of disposition, of education, and political principles, none could exceed them; yet they were ruined, not so much by an immoderate love of glory, as by a fear of disgrace, which, in its origin, was not wrong. They had been so much obliged to the people for their favour, that they were ashamed to be behind-hand with them in marks of attention. On the contrary, by the most acceptable services, they always studied to outdo the honours paid them, and being still more honoured on account of those services, the affection between them and the people became at last so violent, that it forced them into a situation wherein it was in vain to say, "Since we are wrong, it would be a shame to per-"sist." In the course of the history, these observations occur.

With those two Romans let us compare two Spartan kings, Agis and Cleomenes, who were not behind them in popularity. Like the Gracchi, they strove to enlarge the

the privileges of the people, and by restoring the just and glorious institutions which had long fallen into disuse, they became equally obnoxious to the great, who could not think of parting with the superiority which riches gave them, and to which they had long been accustomed. These Spartans were not, indeed, brothers; but their actions were of the same kindred and complexion; the source of which was this:

When the love of money made its way into Sparta, and brought avarice and meanness in its train, on the one hand, on the other, profusion, effeminacy, luxury; that state soon deviated from its original virtue, and sunk into contempt till the reign of Agis and Leonidas. Agis was of the family of Eurytion, the son of Eudamidas, the sixth in descent from Agesilaus, distinguished by his expedition into Asia, and for his eminence in Greece. Agesilaus was succeeded by his son Archidamus, who was slain by the Messapians at Mandonium in Italy*. Agis was the eldest son of Archidamus, and being slain at Megalopolis by Antipater, and leaving no issue, was succeeded by his brother Eudamidas. He was succeeded by another Archidamus, his son, and that prince by another Eudamidas, his son likewise, and the father of that Agis of whom we are now speaking. Leonidas, the son of Cleonymus, was of another branch of the family of the Agiadæ, the eighth in descent from that Pausanias, who conquered Mardonius at Platæa. Pausanias was succeeded by his son Plistonax, and he by another Pausanias, who being banished to Tegea, left his kingdom to his eldest son Agesipolis. He, dying without issue, was succeeded by his brother Cleombrotus, who left two sons, Agesipolis and Cleomenes. Agesipolis, after a short reign, died without issue, and Cleomenes who succeeded him in the kingdom, after burying his eldest son Acrotatus, left surviving another son Cleonymus, who, however, did not succeed to the kingdom, which fell to Areus the son of Acrotatus, and grandson of Cleomenes. Areus being slain at Corinth, the crown descended to his son Acrotatus, who was defeated and killed in the battle of Megalopolis, by the tyrant Aristodemus. He left his wife pregnant, and as the child

* We know of no such place as *Mandonium*. Probably we should read *Mandurium*, which is a city of Japygia, mentioned by the geographers. CELLARIUS, p. 902.

child proved to be a ſon, Leonidas the ſon of Cleonymus took the guardianſhip of him; and his charge dying in his minority the crown fell to him. This prince was not agreeable to his people. For, though the corruption was general, and they all grew daily more and more depraved, yet Leonidas was more remarkable than the reſt for his deviation from the cuſtoms of his anceſtors. He had long been converſant in the courts of the Aſiatic princes, particularly in that of Seleucus, and he had the indiſcretion to introduce the pomp of thoſe courts into a Grecian ſtate, into a kingdom where the laws were the rules of government.

Agis far exceeded not only him, but almoſt all the kings who reigned before him ſince the great Ageſilaus, in goodneſs of diſpoſition and dignity of mind. For, though brought up in the greateſt affluence, and in all the indulgence that might be expected from female tuition, under his mother Ageſiſtrata and his grandmother Archidamia, who were the richeſt perſons in Lacedæmonia, yet before he reached the age of twenty, he declared war againſt pleaſure; and, to prevent any vanity which the beauty of his perſon might have ſuggeſted, he diſcarded all unneceſſary ornament and expence, and conſtantly appeared in a plain Lacedæmonian cloak. In his diet, his bathing, and in all his exerciſes, he kept cloſe to the Spartan ſimplicity, and he often uſed to ſay that the crown was no farther an object of deſire to him, than as it might enable him to reſtore the laws and ancient diſcipline of his country.

The firſt ſymptoms of corruption and diſtemper in their commonwealth, appeared at the time when the Spartans had entirely deſtroyed the Athenian empire, and began to bring gold and ſilver into Lacedæmon. Nevertheleſs, the Agrarian law eſtabliſhed by Lycurgus ſtill ſubſiſting, and the lots of land deſcending undiminiſhed from father to ſon, order and equality in ſome meaſure remained, which prevented other errors from being fatal. But Epitadeus, a man of great authority in Sparta, though at the ſame time factious and ill-natured, being appointed one of the *Ephori*, and having a quarrel with his ſon, procured a law that all men ſhould have liberty to alienate * their eſtates

* It was good policy in the kings of England and France to procure laws impowering the nobility to alienate their eſtates, and by that means to reduce their power; for the nobility in thoſe times were no better than ſo many petty tyrants.

estates in their life-time, or to leave them to whom they pleased at their death. It was to indulge his private resentment, that this man proposed the decree, which others accepted and confirmed from a motive of avarice, and thus the best institution in the world was abrogated. Men of fortune now extended their landed estates without bounds, not scrupling to exclude the right heirs; and property quickly coming into a few hands, the rest of the people were poor and miserable. The latter found no time or opportunity for liberal arts and exercises, being obliged to druge in mean and mechanic employments for their bread, and consequently looking with envy and hatred on the rich. There remained not above seven hundred of the old Spartan families, of which, perhaps, one hundred had estates in land. The rest of the city was filled with an insignificant rabble without property or honour, who had neither heart nor spirit to defend their country against wars abroad, and who were always watching an opportunity for changes and revolutions at home.

For these reasons Agis thought it a noble undertaking, as in fact it was, to bring the citizens again to an equality, and by that means to replenish Sparta, with respectable inhabitants. For this purpose he sounded the inclinations of his subjects. The young men listened to him with a readiness far beyond his expectation: they adopted the cause of virtue with him, and for the sake of liberty, changed their manner of living, with as little objection as they would have changed their apparel. But most of the old men, being far gone in corruption, were as much afraid of the name of Lycurgus, as a fugitive slave, when brought back, is of that of his master. They inveighed, therefore, against Agis for lamenting the present state of things, and desiring to restore the ancient dignity of Sparta. On the other hand, Lysander the son of Libys, Mandreclidas the son of Ecphanes, and Agesilaus, not only came into his glorious designs, but co-operated with them.

Lysander had great reputation and authority among the Spartans. No man understood the interests of Greece better than Mandroclidas, and with his shrewdness and capacity he had a proper mixture of spirit. As for Agesilaus, he was uncle to the king, and a man of great eloquence, but at the same time effeminate and avaricious. However, he

he was animated to this enterprize by his ſon Hippomedon, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in many wars, and was reſpectable on account of the attachment of the Spartan youth to his perſon. It muſt be acknowledged, indeed, that the thing which really perſuaded Ageſilaus to embark in the deſign, was the greatneſs of his debts, which he hoped to be cleared off by a change in the conſtitution.

As ſoon as Agis had gained him, he endeavoured, with his aſſiſtance, to bring his own mother into the ſcheme.—She was ſiſter to Ageſilaus, and by her extenſive connections, her wealth, and the number of people who owed her money, had great influence in Sparta, and a conſiderable ſhare in the management of public affairs. Upon the firſt intimation of the thing, ſhe was quite aſtoniſhed at it, and diſſuaded the young man as much as poſſible, from meaſures which ſhe looked upon as neither practicable nor ſalutary. But Ageſilaus ſhewed her that they might eaſily be brought to bear, and that they would prove of the greateſt utility to the ſtate. The young prince, too, intreated his mother to ſacrifice her wealth to the advancement of his glory, and to indulge his laudable ambition. "It is impoſſible," ſaid he, "for me ever "to vie with other kings in point of opulence. The "domeſtics of an Aſiatic grandee, nay, the ſervants of "the ſtewards of Ptolemy and Seleucus were richer "than all the Spartan kings put together. But if by ſo-"briety, by ſimplicity of proviſion for the body, and by "greatneſs of mind, I can do ſomething which ſhall far "exceed all their pomp and luxury, I mean the making "an equal partition of property among all the citizens, I "ſhall really become a great king, and have all the ho-"nour that ſuch actions demand."

This addreſs changed the opinions of the women.—They entered into the young man's glorious views; they caught the flame of virtue as it were by inſpiration, and, in their turn, haſtened Agis to put his ſcheme in execution. They ſent for their friends, and recommended the affair to them; and they did the ſame to the other matrons. For they knew that the Lacedæmonians always hearken to their wives, and that the women are permitted to intermeddle more with public buſineſs, than the men are with the domeſtic. This, indeed, was the principal obſtruction

tion to Agis's enterprize. Great part of the wealth of Sparta was now in the hands of the women: consequently they opposed the reformation, not only because they knew they must forfeit those gratifications, in which their deviation from the severer paths of sobriety had brought them to place their happiness; but because they saw they must also lose that honour and power which follow property.—They, therefore, applied to Leonidas the other king, and desired him, as the older man, to put a stop to the projects of Agis.

Leonidas was inclined to serve the rich; but as he feared the people who were very desirous of the change, he did not oppose it openly. Privately, however, he strove to blast the design, by applying to the magistrates, and invidiously represented, "That Agis offered the poor a "share in the estates of the rich, as the price of absolute "power; and that the distribution of lands, and cancelling of debts, was only a means to purchase guards for "himself, not citizens for Sparta."

Agis, however, having interest to get Lysander elected one of the *ephori*, took the first opportunity to propose his *rhetra* to the senate; according to which, "Debtors were "to be released from their obligations; and lands to be "divided in the following manner:—Those that lay between the valley of Pellene and Mount Taygetus, as "far as Malea and Sellasia, were to be distributed in "four thousand five hundred equal lots; fifteen thousand "lots were to be made of the remaining territory, which "should be shared among the neighbouring inhabitants "who were able to bear arms: As to what lay within the "limits first mentioned, Spartans were to have the preference; but if their number fell short, it should be "made up out of strangers who were unexceptionable in "point of person, condition, and education. These were "to be divided into fifteen companies, some of four hundred, some of two hundred, who were to eat together, "and keep to the diet and discipline enjoined by the laws "of Lycurgus."

The decree thus proposed in the senate, and the members differing in their opinions upon it, Lysander summoned an assembly of the people; and he, with Mandroclidas and Agesilaus, in their discourse to the citizens, intreated them not to suffer the few to insult the many, or to see with unconcern the majesty of Sparta trodden under foot. They

They desired them to recollect the ancient oracles which bade them beware of the love of money, as a vice the most ruinous to Sparta, as well as the late answer from the temple of Pasiphæ, which gave them the same warning.—For Pasiphæ had a temple and oracle at Thalamiæ*. Some say, this Pasiphæ was one of the daughters of Atlas, who had by Jupiter a son named Ammon. Others suppose her to be Cassandra †, the daughter of Priam, who died at that place, and might have the name of *Pasiphæ* ‡, from her answering the questions of all that consulted her.—But Phylarchus says, she was no other than Daphne, the daughter of Amyclas, who flying from the solicitations of Apollo, was turned into a laurel, and afterwards honoured by that deity with the gift of prophecy. Be that as it may, it was affirmed that her oracle had commanded all the Spartans to return to the equality which the laws of Lycurgus originaly enjoined.

Last of all, king Agis entered the assembly, and, after a short speech, declared, that he would contribute largely to the institution he recommended. He would first give up to the community his own great estate, consisting of arable and pasture land, and of six hundred talents in money:—Then his mother and grandmother, all his relations and friends, who were the richest persons in Sparta would follow his example.

The people were astonished at the magnificence of the young man's proposal, and rejoiced, that now, after the space of three hundred years, they had at last found a king worthy of Sparta. Upon this, Leonidas began openly and vigorously to oppose the new regulations. He considered that he should be obliged to do the same with his colleague, without finding the same acknowledgments from

* Those who consulted this oracle lay down to sleep in the temple, and the goddess revealed to them the object of their inquiries in a dream. CIC. de Div. l. 1.

† Pausanias would incline one to think that this was the goddess Ino. "On the road between Oetylus and Thalamiæ," says he, "is the "temple of Ino. It is the custom of those who consult her to sleep "in her temple, and what they want to know is revealed to them in a "dream. In the court of the temple are two statues of brass, one of "*Paphia*, [it ought to be *Pasiphæ*] the other of the sun. That which "is in the temple is so covered with garlands and fillets that it is not "to be seen; but it is said to be of brass."

‡ Δια το πασι φαινειν μαντεια.

from the people; that all would be equally under a necessity of giving up their fortunes, and that he who first set the example, would alone reap the honour. He therefore demanded of Agis, "Whether he thought Lycurgus "a just and good man?" Agis answering in the affirmative, Leonidas thus went on—"But did Lycurgus ever "order just debts to be cancelled, or bestow the freedom "of Sparta upon strangers? Did he not rather think his "commonwealth could not be in a salutary state, except "strangers were entirely excluded?" Agis replied, "He "did not wonder that Leonidas, who was educated in a "foreign country, and had children by an intermarriage "with a Persian family, should be ignorant that Lycurgus, "in banishing money, banished both debts and usury "from Lacedæmon. As for strangers, he excluded only "those who were not likely to conform to his institutions, "or fit to class with his people. For he did not dislike "them merely as strangers; his exceptions were to their "manners and customs, and he was afraid that, by "mixing with his Spartans, they would infect them with "their luxury, effeminancy and avarice. Terpander, "Thales, and Pherecydes, were strangers, yet because "their poetry and philosophy moved in concert with the "maxims of Lycurgus, they were held in great honour "at Sparta. Even you commend Ecprepes, who, when "he was one of the *ephori*, retrenched the two strings "which Phrynis the musician had added to the seven of "the harp; you commend those who did the same by "Timotheus*; and yet you complain of our intention "to banish superfluity, pride, and luxury, from Sparta. "Do you think that in retrenching the swelling and superfluous "pernumerary graces of music they had no farther view, "and that they were not afraid the excess and disorder "would reach the lives and manners of the people, and "destroy the harmony of the state?"

From this time the common people followed Agis. But the rich intreated Leonidas not to give up their cause; and they exerted their interest so effectually with the senate, whose chief power lay in previously determining what laws should

* Timotheus the Milesian, a celebrated Dithyrambic poet and musician. He added even a twelfth string to the harp, for which he was severely punished by the sage Spartans, who concluded that luxury of sound would effeminate the people.

ſhould be propoſed to the people, that they carried it againſt the *rhetra* by a majority of one. Lyſander, however, being yet in office, reſolved to proſecute Leonidas upon an ancient law, which forbids every deſcendant of Hercules to have children by a woman that is a ſtranger, and makes it capital for a Spartan to ſettle in a foreign country. He inſtructed others to allege theſe things againſt Leonidas, while he with his colleagues, watched for a ſign from heaven. It was the cuſtom for the *ephori* every ninth year, on a clear ſtar-light night, when there was no moon, to ſit down, and in ſilence obſerve the heavens. If a ſtar happened to ſhoot from one part of them to another, they pronounced the kings guilty of ſome crime againſt the gods, and ſuſpended them till they were re-eſtabliſhed by an oracle from Delphi or Olympia. Lyſander, affirming that the ſign had appeared to him, ſummoned Leonidas to his trial, and produced witneſſes to prove that he had two children by an Aſiatic woman, whom one of Seleucus's lieutenants had given him to wife; but that, on her conceiving a mortal averſion to him, he returned home againſt his will, and filled up the vacancy in the throne of Sparta. During this ſuit, he perſuaded Cleombrotus, ſon-in-law to Leonidas, and a prince of the blood, to lay claim to the crown. Leonidas, greatly terrified, fled to the altar of Minerva in the *Chalciœcus**, as a ſuppliant; and his daughter, leaving Cleombrotus, joined him in the interceſſion. He was re-ſummoned to the court of judicature; and as he did not appear, he was depoſed, and the kingdom adjudged to Cleombrotus.

Soon after this revolution, Lyſander's time expired, and he quitted his office. The *ephori* of the enſuing year liſtened to the ſupplication of Leonidas, and conſented to reſtore him. They likewiſe began a proſecution againſt Lyſander and Mandroclidas for the cancelling of debts and diſtribution of lands, which thoſe magiſtrates agreed to contrary to law. In this danger, they perſuaded the two kings to unite their intereſt, and to deſpiſe the machinations of the *ephori*. "Theſe magiſtrates," ſaid they, "have "no power but what they derive from ſome difference "between the kings. In ſuch a caſe they have a right to "ſupport

* Minerva had a temple at Sparta, entirely of braſs.

" ſupport with their ſuffrage the prince whoſe meaſures " are ſalutary, againſt the other who conſults not the " public good; but when the kings are unanimous, no- " thing can overrule their determinations. To reſiſt " them is then to fight againſt the laws. For, as we ſaid, " they can only decide between the kings in caſe of diſ- " agreement; when their ſentiments are the ſame, the " *ephori* have no right to interpoſe."

The kings, prevailed upon by this argument, entered the place of aſſembly with their friends, where they removed the *ephori* from their ſeats, and placed others in their room. Ageſilaus was one of theſe new magiſtrates. They then armed a great number of the youth, and releaſed many out of priſon; upon which, their adverſaries were ſtruck with terror, expecting that many lives would be loſt. However, they put not one man to the ſword: on the contrary, Agis underſtanding that Ageſilaus deſigned to kill Leonidas in his flight to Tegea, and had planted aſſaſſins for that purpoſe on the way, generouſly ſent a party of men whom he could depend upon, to eſcort him, and they conducted him ſafe to Tegea.

Thus the buſineſs went on with all the ſucceſs they could deſire, and they had no farther oppoſition to encounter. But this excellent regulation, ſo worthy of Lacedæmon, miſcarried through the failure of one of its pretended advocates, the vile diſeaſe of avarice in Ageſilaus. He was poſſeſſed of a large and fine eſtate in land, but at the ſame time deeply in debt; and as he was neither able to pay his debts, nor willing to part with his land, he repreſented to Agis, that if both his intentions were carried into execution at the ſame time, it would probably raiſe great commotions in Sparta; but if he firſt obliged the rich by the cancelling of debts, they would afterwards quietly and readily conſent to the diſtribution of lands. Ageſilaus drew Lyſander, too, into the ſame ſnare. An order, therefore, was iſſued for bringing in all bonds, (the Lacedæmonians call them *claria*) and they were piled together in the market-place, and burnt. When the fire began to burn, the uſurers and other creditors walked off in great diſtreſs. But Ageſilaus, in a ſcoffing way, ſaid, " He never ſaw a brighter or more " glorious flame."

The common people demanded that the diſtribution of lands ſhould alſo be made immediately, and the kings gave orders for it; but Ageſilaus found out ſome pretence or other for delay, till it was time for Agis to take the field in behalf of the Achæans, who were allies of the Spartans, and had applied to them for ſuccours. For they expected that the Ætolians would take the route through the territory of Megara, and enter Peloponneſus. Aratus, general of the Achæans, aſſembled an army to prevent it, and wrote to the *ephori* for aſſiſtance.

They immediately ſent Agis upon that ſervice; and that prince went out with the higheſt hopes, on account of the ſpirit of his men and their attachment to his perſon. They were moſt of them young men in very indifferent circumſtances, who being now releaſed from their debts, and expecting a diviſion of lands if they returned from the war, ſtrove to recommend themſelves as much as poſſible to Agis. It was a moſt agreeable ſpectacle to the cities, to ſee them march through Peloponneſus without committing the leaſt violence, and with ſuch diſcipline that they were ſcarce heard as they paſſed. The Greeks ſaid one to another, "With what excellent order and decency muſt "the armies under Ageſilaus, Lyſander, or Ageſilaus of "old, have moved, when we find ſuch exact obedience, "ſuch reverence in theſe Spartans to a general who is, "perhaps, the youngeſt man in the whole army!" Indeed, this young prince's ſimplicity of diet, his love of labour, and his affecting no ſhew either in his dreſs or arms above a private ſoldier, made all the common people, as he paſſed, look upon him with pleaſure and admiration: but his new regulations at Lacedæmon diſpleaſed the rich, and they were afraid that he might raiſe commotions every where among the commonalty, and put them upon following the example.

After Agis had joined Aratus at Corinth, in the deliberations about meeting and fighting the enemy, he ſhewed a proper courage and ſpirit without any enthuſiaſtic or irrational flights. He gave it as his opinion, "That they "ſhould give battle, and not ſuffer the war to enter the "gates of Peloponneſus. He would do, however, what "Aratus thought moſt expedient, becauſe he was the "older man, and general of the Achæans, whom he came "not to dictate to, but to aſſiſt in the war."

It

It muſt be acknowledged that Bato* of Sinope relates it in another manner. He ſays, Aratus was for fighting, and Agis declined it. But Bato had never met with what Aratus writes by way of apology for himſelf upon this point. That general tells us, "That as the huſbandmen "had almoſt finiſhed their harveſt, he thought it better to "let the enemy paſs, than to hazard by a battle the loſs "of the whole country." Therefore, when Aratus determined not to fight, and diſmiſſed his allies with compliments on their readineſs to ſerve him, Agis, who had gained great honour by his behaviour, marched back to Sparta, where, by this time, internal troubles and changes demanded his preſence.

Ageſilaus, ſtill one of the *ephori*, and delivered from the preſſure of debt which had weighed down his ſpirits, ſcrupled no act of injuſtice that might bring money into his coffers. He even added to the year a thirteenth month, though the proper period for that intercalation was not come, and inſiſting on the peoples' paying ſupernumerary taxes for that month. Being afraid, however, of revenge from thoſe he had injured, and ſeeing himſelf hated by all the world, he thought it neceſſary to maintain a guard, which always attended him to the ſenate-houſe. As to the kings, he expreſſed an utter contempt for one of them, and the reſpect he paid the other he would have underſtood to be, rather on account of his being his kinſman, than his wearing the crown. Beſides, he propagated a report, that he ſhould be one of the *ephori* the year following. His enemies, therefore, determined to hazard an immediate attempt againſt him, and openly brought back Leonidas from Tegea, and placed him on the throne. The people ſaw it with pleaſure; for they were angry at finding themſelves deceived with reſpect to the promiſed diſtribution of lands. Ageſilaus had hardly eſcaped their fury, had not his ſon Hippomedon, who was held in great eſteem by the whole city on account of his valour, interceded for his life.

The kings both took ſanctuary, Agis in *Chalciœcus*, and Cleombrotus in the temple of Neptune. It was againſt the latter that Leonidas was moſt incenſed; and therefore paſſing Agis by, he went with a party of ſoldiers to ſeize Cleombrotus,

* He wrote the hiſtory of Perſia.

Cleombrotus, whom he reproached, in terms of resentment, with conspiring against him, though honoured with his alliance, depriving him of the crown, and banishing him his country.

Cleombrotus had nothing to say, but sat in the deepest distress and silence. Chelonis, the daughter of Leonidas, had looked upon the injury done her father as done to herself: when Cleombrotus robbed him of the crown, she left him, to console her father in his misfortune. While he was in sanctuary, she stayed with him, and when he retired she attended him in his flight, sympathizing with his sorrow, and full of resentment against Cleombrotus. But when the fortunes of her father changed, she changed too. She joined her husband as a suppliant, and was found sitting by him with great marks of tenderness, and her two children, one on each side, at her feet. The whole company were much struck at the sight, and they could not refrain from tears when they considered her goodness of heart and such superior instances of affection.

Chelonis then pointing to her mourning habit and disheveled hair, thus addressed Leonidas. "It was not, "my dear father, compassion for Cleombrotus which put "me in this habit, and gave me this look of misery. My "sorrows took their date with your misfortunes and your "banishment, and have ever since remained my familiar "companions. Now you have conquered your enemies, "and are again king of Sparta, should I still retain these "ensigns of affliction, or assume festival and royal orna-"ments, while the husband of my youth, whom you gave "me, falls a victim to your vengeance. If his own sub-"mission, if the tears of his wife and children cannot pro-"pitiate you, he must suffer a severer punishment for his "offences than you require—he must see his beloved wife "die before him. For how can I live and support the "sight of my own sex, after both my husband and my fa-"ther have refused to hearken to my supplication—when "it appears that, both as a wife and a daughter, I am "born to be miserable with my family? If this poor "man had any plausible reasons for what he did, I ob-"viated them all by forsaking him to follow you. But "you furnish him with a sufficient apology for his mis-"behaviour, by shewing that a crown is so great and "desirable an object, that a son-in-law must be slain, and

"a

"a daughter utterly disregarded, where that is in the "question."

Chelonis, after this supplication, rested her cheek on her husband's head, and with an eye dim and languid with sorrow looked round on the spectators. Leonidas consulted his friends upon the point, and then commanded Cleombrotus to rise and go into exile; but he desired Chelonis to stay, and not leave so affectionate a father, who had been kind enough to grant her her husband's life. Chelonis, however, would not be persuaded. When her husband was risen from the ground, she put one child in his arms, and took the other herself, and after having paid due homage at the altar where they had taken sanctuary, she went with him into banishment. So that, had not Cleombrotus been corrupted with the love of false glory, he must have thought exile, with such a woman, a greater happiness than a kingdom without her.

After Cleombrotus was thus expelled, the *ephori* removed, and others put in their place, Leonidas laid a scheme to get Agis into his power. At first he desired him to leave his sanctuary, and resume his share in the government; "For the people," he said, "thought he "might well be pardoned, as a young man ambitious of "honour; and the rather, because they, as well as he, "had been deceived by the craft of Agesilaus." But when he found that Agis suspected him, and chose to stay where he was, he threw off the mask of kindness. Amphares, Demochares, and Arcesilaus, used to give Agis their company, for they were his intimate friends. They likewise conducted him from the temple to the bath, and, after he had bathed, brought him back to the sanctuary. Amphares had lately borrowed a great deal of plate and other rich furniture of Agesistrata, and he hoped that if he could destroy the king and the princesses of his family, he might keep those goods as his own. On this account he is said to have first listened to the suggestions of Leonidas, and to have endeavoured to bring the *ephori*, his colleagues, to do the same.

As Agis spent the rest of his time in the temple, and only went out to the bath, they resolved to make use of that opportunity. Therefore, one day on his return, they met him with a great appearance of friendship, and as they conducted him on his way, conversed with much freedom

freedom and gaiety, which his youth and their intimacy with him ſeemed to warrant. But when they came to the turning of a ſtreet which led to the priſon, Amphares, by virtue of his office, arreſted him. "I take you, Agis," ſaid he, "into cuſtody, in order to your giving account to "the *ephori* of your adminiſtration." At the ſame time, Demochares, who was a tall ſtrong man, wrapped his cloak about his head, and dragged him off. The reſt, as they had previouſly concerted the thing, puſhed him on behind, and no one coming to his reſcue or aſſiſtance, he was committed to priſon.

Leonidas preſently came with a ſtrong band of mercenaries, to ſecure the priſon without; and the *ephori* entered it, with ſuch ſenators as were of their party. They began, as in a judicial proceſs, with demanding what he had to ſay in defence of his proceedings; and as the young prince only laughed at their diſſimulation, Amphares told him, "They would ſoon make him weep for his preſumption." Another of the *ephori*, ſeeming inclined to put him in a way of excuſing himſelf and getting off, aſked him, "Whether Lyſander and Ageſilaus had not forced him "into the meaſures he took?" But Agis anſwered, "I "was forced by no man; it was my attachment to the "inſtitutions of Lycurgus, and my deſire to imitate him, "which made me adopt his form of government." Then the ſame magiſtrate demanded, "Whether he re-"pented of what he had done? and his anſwer was, "I ſhall never repent of ſo glorious a deſign, though I "ſee death before my eyes." Upon this, they paſſed ſentence of death upon him, and commanded the officers to carry him into the *decade*, which is a ſmall apartment in the priſon where they ſtrangle malefactors. But the officers durſt not touch him, and the very mercenaries declined it; for they thought it impious to lay violent hands on a king. Demochares ſeeing this, loaded them with reproaches, and threatened to puniſh them. At the ſame time, he laid hold on Agis himſelf, and thruſt him into the dungeon.

By this time it was generally known that Agis was taken into cuſtody, and there was a great concourſe of people at the priſon-gates with lanthorns and torches. Among the numbers who reſented theſe proceedings, were the mother and grandmother of Agis, crying out and

begging that the king might be heard and judged by the people in full aſſembly. But this, inſtead of procuring him a reſpite, haſtened his execution; for they were afraid he would be reſcued in the night, if the tumult ſhould increaſe.

As Agis was going to execution, he perceived one of the officers lamenting his fate with tears; upon which, he ſaid, "My friend, dry up your tears: for, as I ſuffer innocently, I am in a better condition than thoſe who "condemn me contrary to law and juſtice." So ſaying, he cheerfully offered his neck to the executioner.

Amphares then going to the gate, Ageſiſtrata threw herſelf at his feet, on account of their long intimacy and friendſhip. He raiſed her from the ground, and told her, "No farther violence ſhould be offered her ſon, nor ſhould "he now have any hard treatment." He told her, too, ſhe might go in and ſee her ſon, if ſhe pleaſed. She deſired that her mother might be admitted with her, and Amphares aſſured her, there would be no objection. When he had let them in, he commanded the gates to be locked again, and Archidamia to be firſt introduced. She was very old, and had lived in great honour and eſteem among the Spartans. After ſhe was put to death, he ordered Ageſiſtrata to walk in. She did ſo, and beheld her ſon extended on the ground, and her mother hanging by the neck. She aſſiſted the officers in taking Archidamia down, placed the body by that of Agis, and wrapped it decently up. Then embracing her ſon and kiſſing him, ſhe ſaid, "My ſon, thy too great moderation, lenity, and "humanity, have ruined both thee and us." Amphares, who from the door ſaw and heard all that paſſed, went up in great fury to Ageſiſtrata, and ſaid, "If you approved "your ſon's actions, you ſhall alſo have his reward." She roſe up to meet her fate, and ſaid, with a ſigh for her country, "May all this be for the good of Sparta!"

When theſe events were reported in the city, and the three corpſes carried out, the terror the ſad ſcene inſpired was not ſo great, but that the people openly expreſſed their grief and indignation, and their hatred of Leonidas and Amphares. For they were perſuaded that there had not been ſuch a train of villainous and impious actions at Sparta, ſince the Dorians firſt inhabited Peloponneſus. The majeſty of the kings of Sparta had been held in ſuch vene-

veneration even by their enemies, that they had ſcrupled to ſtrike them, when they had opportunity for it in battle. Hence it was, that in the many actions between the Lacedæmonians and the other Greeks, the former had loſt only their king Cleombrotus, who fell by a javelin at the battle of Leuctra a little before the times of Philip of Macedon. As for Theopompus, who as the Meſſenians affirm, was ſlain by Ariſtomenes, the Lacedæmonians deny it, and ſay he was only wounded. That, indeed, is a matter of ſome diſpute: but it is certain that Agis was the firſt king of Lacedæmon put to death by the *ephori*: and that he ſuffered only for engaging in an enterprize that was truly glorious and worthy of Sparta; though he was of an age at which even errors are conſidered as pardonable. His friends had more reaſon to complain of him, than his enemies, for ſaving Leonidas, and truſting his aſſociates, in the undeſigning generoſity and goodneſs of his heart.

CLEOMENES.

AFTER Agis was put to death, Leonidas intended the ſame fate for his brother Archidamus; but that prince ſaved himſelf by a timely retreat. However, his wife Agiatis, who was newly brought to bed, was forced by the tyrant from her own houſe, and given to his ſon Cleomenes. Cleomenes was not quite come to years of maturity, but his father was not willing that any other man ſhould have the lady; for ſhe was daughter to Gylippus, and heireſs to his great eſtate; and in beauty, as well as happineſs of temper and conduct, ſuperior to all the women of Greece. She left nothing unattempted, to prevent her being forced into this match, but found all her efforts ineffectual. Therefore, when ſhe was married to Cleomenes, ſhe made him a good and affectionate wife, though ſhe hated his father. Cleomenes was paſſionately fond of her from the firſt, and his attachment to his wife made him ſympathize with her on the mournful remembrance of Agis. He would often aſk her for the hiſtory of that unfornate prince, and liſten with great attention to her account of his ſentiments and deſigns.

Cleomenes was ambitious of glory, and had a native greatneſs of mind. Nature had, moreover, diſpoſed him to

to temperance and ſimplicity of manners, as much as Agis; but he had not his calmneſs and moderation. His ſpirit had an ardour in it; and there was an impetuoſity in his purſuits of honour, or whatever appeared to him under that character. He thought it moſt glorious to reign over a willing people; but, at the ſame time, he thought it not inglorious to ſubdue their reluctancies, and bring them againſt their inclinations into what was good and ſalutary.

He was not ſatisfied with the prevailing manners and cuſtoms of Sparta. He ſaw that eaſe and pleaſure were the great objects with the people; that the king paid but little regard to public concerns, and if nobody gave him any diſturbance, choſe to ſpend his time in the enjoyments of affluence and luxury; that individuals, entirely actuated by ſelf-intereſt, paid no attention to the buſineſs of the ſtate, any farther than they could turn it to their own emolument. And what rendered the proſpect ſtill more melancholy, it appeared dangerous to make any mention of training the youth to ſtrong exerciſes, and ſtrict temperance, to perſevering fortitude, and univerſal equality, ſince the propoſing of theſe things coſt Agis his life.

It is ſaid too, that Cleomenes was inſtructed in philoſophy, at a very early period of life, by Sphæres the Boryſthenite *, who came to Lacedæmon, and taught the youth with great diligence and ſucceſs. Sphærus was one of the principal diſciples of Zeno the Citiean †; and it ſeems that he admired the ſtrength of genius he found in Cleomenes, and added freſh incentives to his love of glory. We are informed, that, when Leonidas of old was aſked, "What he thought of the poetry of Tyrtæus;" he ſaid, "I think it well calculated to excite the courage of "our youth; for the enthuſiaſm with which it inſpires "them, makes them fear no danger in battle." So the ſtoic philoſophy ‡ may put perſons of great and fiery ſpirits upon enterprizes that are too deſperate; but in thoſe of a grave

* This Sphærus was born towards the end of the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and flouriſhed under that of Euergetes. Diogenes Lærtius has given us a catalogue of his works, which were conſiderable. He was the ſcholar of Zeno, and afterwards of Cleanthus.

† He was ſo called to diſtinguiſh him from Zeno of Elea, a city of Laconia, who flouriſhed about two hundred years after the death of Zeno the Citiean. Citium, of which the elder Zeno was a native, was a town in Cyprus.

‡ From its tendency to inſpire a contempt of death, and a belief in the agency of Providence.

grave and mild disposition, it will produce all the good effects for which it was designed.

When Leonidas died, and Cleomenes came to the crown, he observed that all ranks of men were utterly corrupted. The rich had an eye only to private profit and pleasure, and utterly neglected the public interest. The common people, on account of the meanness of their circumstances, had no spirit for war, or ambition to instruct their children in the Spartan exercises. Cleomenes himself had only the name of king, while the power was in the hands of the *ephori*. He, therefore, soon began to think of changing the present posture of affairs. He had a friend called Xenares, united to him by such an affection as the Spartans called *inspiration*. Him he first sounded; inquiring of him what kind of prince Agis was; by what steps, and with what associates, he came into the way he took. Xenares at first consented readily enough to satisfy his curiosity, and gave him an exact narrative of all the proceedings. But when he found that Cleomenes interested himself deeply in the affair, and took such an enthusiastic pleasure in the new schemes of Agis, as to desire to hear them again and again, he reproved his distempered inclinations, and at last entirely left his company. However, he did not acquaint any one with the cause of their misunderstanding; but only said, "Cleomenes knew very "well." As Xenares so strongly opposed the king's project, he thought others must be as little disposed to come into it; and therefore he concerted the whole matter by himself. In the persuasion, that he could more easily effect his intended change in time of war than in peace, he embroiled his country with the Achæans, who had indeed given sufficient occasion of complaint. For Aratus, who was the leading man among them, had laid it down as a principle, from the beginning of his administration, to reduce all Peloponnesus to one body. This was the end he had in view in his numerous expeditions, and in all the proceedings of government, during the many years that he held the reins in Achaia. And, indeed, he was of opinion, that this was the only way to secure Peloponnesus against its enemies without. He had succeeded with most of the states of that peninsula; the Lacedæmonians and Eleans, and such of the Arcadians as were in the Lacedæmonian interest, were all that stood out. Upon the death of Leonidas, he commenced hostilities against the Arcadians,

Arcadians, particularly those who bordered upon the Achæans; by this means designing to try how the Lacedæmonians stood inclined. As for Cleomenes, he despised him as a young man without experience.

The *ephori*, however, sent Cleomenes to seize Athenæum * near Belbina. This place is one of the keys of Laconia, and was then in dispute between the Spartans and Megalopolitans. Cleomenes accordingly took it and fortified it. Aratus made no remonstrance, but marched by night to surprise Tegea and Orchomenus. However, the persons who had promised to betray those places to him, found their hearts fail them, when they came to the point; and he retired, undiscovered as he thought. Upon this, Cleomenes wrote to him, in a familiar way, desiring to know, "Whither he marched the night before." Aratus answered, "That, understanding his design to fortify "Belbina, the intent of his last motion was to prevent "that measure." Cleomenes humorously replied, "I am "satisfied with the account of your march; but should be "glad to know where those torches and ladders were "marching."

Aratus could not help laughing as the jest; and he asked what kind of man this young prince was. Democrates, a Lacedæmonian exile, answered, "If you design to do "any thing against the Spartans, you must do it quickly, "before the spurs of this cockrel be grown."

Cleomenes, with a few horse and three hundred foot, was now posted in Arcadia. The *ephori*, apprehensive of a war, commanded him home; and he obeyed. But finding that in consequence of this retreat, Aratus had taken Caphyæ, they ordered him to take the field again. Cleomenes made himself master of Methydrium, and ravaged the territories of Argos. Whereupon the Achæans marched against him with twenty thousand foot, and a thousand horse, under the command of Aristomachus. Cleomenes met him at Palantium, and offered him battle. But Aratus, intimidated by this instance of the young prince's spirit, dissuaded the general from engaging, and retreated. This retreat exposed Aratus to reproach among the Achæans, and to scorn and contempt among the Spartans, whose army consisted not of more than five thousand men.

* A temple of Minerva.

men. Cleomenes, elevated with this success, began to talk in a higher tone among the people, and bade them remember an expression of one of their ancient kings, who said, "The Lacedæmonians seldom inquired the number "of their enemies, but the place where they could be "found."

After this, he went to the assistance of the Eleans, against whom the Achæans had now turned their arms. He attacked the latter at Lycæum, as they were upon the retreat, and put them entirely to the rout; not only spreading terror through their whole army, but killing great numbers, and making many prisoners. It was even reported among the Greeks, that Aratus was of the number of the slain. Aratus, availing himself in the best manner of the opportunity, with the troops that attended him in his flight, marched immediately to Mantinea, and coming upon it by surprise, took it, and secured it for the Achæans.

The Lacedæmonians, greatly dispirited at this loss, opposed Cleomenes in his inclination for war. He, therefore bethought himself of calling Archidamus, the brother of Agis, from Messene, to whom, in the other family, the crown belonged. For he imagined that the power of the *ephori* would not be so formidable, when the kingly government, according to the Spartan constitution, was complete, and had its proper weight in the scale. The party that had put Agis to death, perceiving this, and dreading vengeance from Archidamus, if he should be established on the throne, took this method to prevent it. They joined in inviting him to come privately to Sparta, and even assisted him in his return; but they assassinated him immediately after. Whether it was against the consent of Cleomenes, as Phylarchus thinks, or whether his friends persuaded him to abandon that unhappy prince, we cannot take upon us to say. The greatest part of the blame, however, fell upon those friends, who, if he gave his consent, were supposed to have teazed him into it.

By this time he was resolved to carry his intended changes into immediate execution; and therefore he bribed the *ephori* to permit him to renew the war. He gained also many others by the assistance of his mother Cratesiclea, who liberally supplied him with money, and joined in his schemes of glory. Nay, it is said, that, though
disin-

disinclined to marry again, for her son's sake she accepted a man who had great interest and authority among the people.

One of his first operations was, the going to seize Leuctra, which is a place within the dependencies of Megalopolis. The Achæans hastened to its relief, under the command of Aratus; and a battle was fought under the walls, in which part of the Lacedæmonian army was beaten. But Aratus stopping the pursuit at a defile which was in the way, Lysiadas*, the Megalopolitan, offended at the order, encouraged the cavalry under his command to pursue the advantage they had gained; by which means he entangled them among vineyards, ditches, and other inclosures, where they were forced to break their ranks, and fell into great disorder. Cleomenes, seeing his opportunity, commanded the Tarentines and Cretans to fall upon them; and Lysiadas, after great exertions of valour, was defeated and slain. The Lacedæmonians thus encouraged, returned to the action with shouts of joy, and routed the whole Achæan army. After a considerable carnage, a truce was granted the survivors, and they were permitted to bury their dead; but Cleomenes ordered the body of Lysiadas to be brought to him. He clothed it in robes of purple, and put a crown upon its head; and, in this attire, he sent it to the gates of Megalopolis. This was that Lysiadas who restored liberty to the city in which he was an absolute prince, and united it to the Achæan league.

Cleomenes, greatly elated with this victory, thought, if matters were once entirely at his disposal in Sparta, the Achæans would no longer be able to stand before him. For this reason he endeavoured to convince his father-in-law Megistonus, that the yoke of the *ephori* ought to be broken, and an equal division of property to be made; by means of which equality, Sparta would resume her ancient valour, and once more rise to the empire of Greece. Megistonus complied, and the king then took two or three other friends into the scheme.

About that time, one of the *ephori* had a surprising dream, as he slept in the temple of Pasiphæ. He thought, that, in

* In the text it is *Lydiadas*. But Polybius calls him *Lysiadas*; and so does Plutarch in another place.

in the court where the *ephori* uſed to ſit for the deſpatch of buſineſs, four chairs were taken away, and only one left. And as he was wondering at the change, he heard a voice from the ſanctuary, which ſaid, "This is beſt for Sparta." The magiſtrate related this viſion of his to Cleomenes, who at firſt was greatly diſconcerted, thinking that ſome ſuſpicion had led him to ſound his intentions. But when he found that there was no fiction in the caſe, he was the more confirmed in his purpoſe; and taking with him ſuch of the citizens as he thought moſt likely to oppoſe it, he marched againſt Heræa and Alſæa, two cities belonging to the Achæan league, and took them. After this, he laid in ſtore of proviſions at Orchomenus, and then beſieged Mantinea. At laſt he ſo haraſſed the Lacedæmonians by a variety of long marches, that moſt of them deſired to be left in Arcadia; and he returned to Sparta with the mercenaries only. By the way he communicated his deſign to ſuch of them as he believed moſt attached to his intereſt, and advanced ſlowly, that he might come upon the *ephori* as they were at ſupper.

When he approached the town, he ſent Euryclidas before him to the hall where thoſe magiſtrates uſed to ſup, upon pretence of his being charged with ſome meſſage relative to the army. He was accompanied by Thericion and Phœbis, and two other young men who had been educated with Cleomenes, and whom the Spartans call *Samothracians**. Theſe were at the head of a ſmall party. While Euryclidas was holding the *ephori* in diſcourſe, the others ran upon them with their drawn ſwords. They were all ſlain but Ageſilaus, and he was then thought to have ſhared the ſame fate; for he was the firſt man that fell; but in a little time he conveyed himſelf ſilently out of the room, and crept into a little building which was the

* All the commentators agree that *Σαμοθρακας* is a corruption. Palmerias propoſes to read Πυθιες, *Pythians*. So at Sparta they called two perſons whom the king ſent to conſult the oracle of Apollo, and who uſed to eat at the king's table. But Πυθιες is very diſtant in ſound from Σαμοθρακας. The editor of the former Engliſh tranſlation, propoſes, by no means unhappily, to read ὁμοθραπτας, which is ſynonymous to *συντροφες*. Proper regard ought to be paid, too, to the conjecture of Bryan and Du Soul, who offers us Σαμαντορας. This ſignifies *perſons who give the ſignal of battle, præfects, generals.*

the temple of FEAR. This temple was generally ſhut up, but then happened to be open. When he was got in, he immediately barred the door. The other four were deſpatched outright; and ſo were above ten more who came to their aſſiſtance. Thoſe who remained quiet, received no harm; nor were any hindered from departing the city. Nay, Ageſilaus himſelf was ſpared, when he came the next day out of the temple.

The Lacedæmonians have not only temples dedicated to FEAR, but alſo to DEATH, to LAUGHTER, and many of the paſſions. Nor do they pay homage to *Fear*, as one of the noxious and deſtroying dæmons, but they conſider it as the beſt cement of ſociety. Hence it was, that the *ephori*, (as Ariſtotle tells us) when they entered upon their office, cauſed proclamation to be made, that the people ſhould ſhave their upper lip, and be obedient to the laws, that they might not be under the neceſſity of having recourſe to ſeverity. As for the ſhaving of the upper lip, in my opinion, all the deſign of that injunction is, to teach the youth obedience in the ſmalleſt matters. And it ſeems to me, that the ancients did not think that valour conſiſts in the exemption from fear; but on the contrary, in the fear of reproach, and the dread of infamy. For thoſe who ſtand moſt in fear of the law, act with the greateſt intrepidity againſt the enemy; and they who are moſt tender of their reputation, look with the leaſt concern upon other dangers. Therefore one of the poets ſaid well,

> Ingenuous ſhame reſides with fear.

Hence Homer makes Helen ſay to her father-in-law, Priamus,

> Before thy preſence, father, I appear
> With conſcious ſhame and reverential fear. POPE.

And, in another place, he ſays, the Grecian troops

> With fear and ſilence on their chiefs attend.

For reverence, in vulgar minds, is generally the concomitant of fear. And, therefore, the Lacedæmonians placed the temple of FEAR near the hall where the *ephori* uſed to eat, to ſhew that their authority was nearly equal to the regal.

Next

Next day Cleomenes profcribed eighty of the citizens, whom he it thought neceffary to expel; and he removed all the feats of the *ephori* except one, in which he defigned to fit himfelf, to hear caufes, and defpatch other bufinefs. Then he affembled the people, in order to explain and defend what he had done. His fpeech was to this effect. "The adminiftration was put by Lycurgus in the hands of "the kings and the fenate; and Sparta was governed "by them a long time, without any occafion for other "magiftrates. But, as the Meffenian war was drawn out "to a great length, and the kings, having the armies "to command, had not leifure to attend to the decifion "of caufes at home, they pitched upon fome of their "friends to be left as their deputies, for that purpofe, "under the title of *ephori*, or *infpectors*. At firft they be-"haved as fubftitutes and fervants to the kings; but, by "little and little, they got the power into their own "hands, and infenfibly erected their office into an inde-"pendent magiftracy*. A proof of this, is a cuftom "which has obtained till this time, that when the *ephori* "fent for the king, he refufed to hearken to the firft and "fecond meffage, and did not attend them till they fent "a third. Afteropus was the firft of the *ephori*, who "raifed their office to that height of authority many ages "after their creation. While they kept within the bounds "of moderation, it was better to endure than to remove "them; but when, by their ufurpations, they deftroyed "the ancient form of government, when they depofed "fome kings, put others to death without any form of "trial, and threatened thofe princes who defire to fee the "divine conftitution of their country in its original luftre, "they became abfolutely infupportable. Had it been "poffible, without the fhedding of blood, to have exter-"minated thofe pefts which they had introduced into La-"cedæmon; fuch as luxury, fuperfluous expence, debts, "ufury, and thofe more ancient evils, poverty and riches, "I fhould then have thought myfelf the happieft of kings. "In curing the diftempers of my country, I fhould have "been

* When the authority of the kings was grown too enormous, Theopompus found it neceffary to curb it by the inftitution of the *ephori*. But they were not as Cleomenes fays; they were, in their firft eftablifhment, minifters to the kings.

"been confidered as the phyfician whofe lenient hand "heals without giving pain. But for what neceffity has "obliged me to do, I have the authority of Lycurgus, "who, though neither king nor magiftrate, but only a "private man, took upon him to act as a king *, and ap- "peared publicly in arms. The confequence of which "was, that Charilaus, the reigning prince, in great con- "fternation, fled to the altar. But being a mild and pa- "triotic king, he foon entered into the defigns of Ly- "curgus, and accepted his new form of government. "Therefore, the proceedings of Lycurgus are an evidence "that it is next to impoffible to new-model a conftitution "without the terror of an armed force. For my own "part, I have applied that remedy with great moderation; "only ridding myfelf of fuch as oppofed the true intereft "of Lacedæmon. Among the reft, I fhall make a diftri- "bution of all the lands, and clear the people of their "debts. Among the ftrangers, I fhall felect fome of "the beft and ableft, that they may be admitted citizens "of Sparta, and protect her with her arms; and that "we may no longer fee Laconia a prey to the Ætolians "and Illyrians for want of a fufficient number of inha- "bitants concerned for its defence.

When he had finifhed his fpeech, he was the firft to furrender his own eftate into the public ftock. His father-in-law Megiftonus, and his other friends, followed his example. The reft of the citizens did the fame; and then the land was divided. He even affigned lots for each of the perfons whom he had driven into exile; and declared that they fhould all be recalled when tranquillity had once more taken place. Having filled up the number of citizens out of the beft of the inhabitants of the neighbouring countries, he raifed a body of four thoufand foot, whom he taught to ufe the two-handed pike inftead of the javelin, and to hold their fhields by a handle, and not by a ring as before. Then he applied himfelf to the education of the youth, and formed them with all the ftrictnefs of the Lacedæmonian difcipline; in the courfe of which he was much affifted by Sphærus. Their fchools of exercife, and their refectories, were foon brought into that

* Lycurgus never affumed or afpired to regal authority: and Cleomenes mentions this only to take off the odium from himfelf.

that good order, which they had of old; ſome being reduced to it by compulſion, but the greateſt part coming voluntarily into that noble training peculiar to Sparta. However, to prevent any offence that might be taken at the name of monarchy, he made his brother Euclidas his partner to the throne; and this was the only time that the Spartans had two kings of the ſame family.

He obſerved that the Achæans, and Aratus, the principal man among them, were perſuaded that the late change had brought the Spartan affairs into a doubtful and unſettled ſtate; and that he would not quit the city while it was in ſuch a ferment. He therefore thought it would have both its honour and utility, to ſhew the enemy how readily his troops would obey him. In conſequence of which he entered the Megalopolitan territories, where he ſpread deſolation, and made a very conſiderable booty. In one of his laſt marches, he ſeized a company of comedians who were on the road from Meſſene; upon which, he built a ſtage in the enemy's country; propoſed a prize of forty *minæ* to the beſt performer, and ſpent one day in ſeeing them. Not that he ſet any great value on ſuch diverſions, but he did it by way of inſult upon the enemy, to ſhew his ſuperiority by this mark of contempt. For, among the Grecian and royal armies, his was the only one which had not a train of players, jugglers, ſingers, and dancers, of both ſexes. No intemperance or buffoonery, no public ſhews or feaſts, except on the late occaſion, were ever ſeen in his camp. The young men paſſed the greateſt part of their time in the exerciſes, and the old men in teaching them. The hours of leiſure were amuſed with cheerful diſcourſe, which had all the ſmartneſs of Laconic repartee. This kind of amuſement had thoſe advantages which we have mentioned in the life of Lycurgus.

The king himſelf was the beſt teacher. Plain and ſimple in his equipage and diet, aſſuming no manner of pomp above a common citizen, he ſet a glorious example of ſobriety. This was no ſmall advantage to his affairs in Greece. When the Greeks addreſſed themſelves to other kings, they did not ſo much admire their wealth and magnificence, as execrate their pride and ſpirit of oſtentation; their difficulty of acceſs, and harſhneſs of behaviour to all who had buſineſs at their courts. But when they applied to

to Cleomenes, who not only bore the the title, but had all the great qualities of a king, they saw no purple or robes of state, no rich carriages, no gauntlet of pages or door-keepers to be run. Nor had they their answer, after great difficulties, from the mouth of secretaries *; but they found him in an ordinary habit, ready to meet them and offer them his hand. He received them with a cheerful countenance, and entered into their business with the utmost ease and freedom. This engaging manner gained their hearts; and they declared he was the only worthy descendant of Hercules.

His common supper was short and truly Laconic. There were only couches for three people; but when he entertained ambassadors or strangers, two more couches were added, and the table was a little better furnished by the servants. Not that any curious desert was added; only the dishes were larger, and the wine more generous. For he blamed one of his friends for setting nothing before strangers but the coarse cake and black broth, which they eat in their common refectories. "When we have strangers to entertain," he said, "we need not be such very exact Lacedæmoni-"ans." After supper, a three-legged stand † was brought in, upon which were placed a brass ‡ bowl full of wine, two silver pots that held about a || pint and a half a piece, and a few cups of the same metal. Such of the guests as were inclined to drink, made use of these vessels, for the cup was not pressed upon any man against his will. There was no music or other extrinsic amusement; nor was any such thing wanted. He entertained his company very agreeably with his own conversation; sometimes asking questions, and sometimes telling stories. His serious discourse was perfectly free from moroseness; and his mirth from petulance and rusticity. The arts which other princes used of drawing men to their purpose by bribery and corruption, he looked upon as both iniquitous and impolitic. But to engage and fix people in his interest by the charms of conversation, without fraud or guile, appeared to him an honourable method, and worthy of a king. For he thought this the true difference between a hireling and a friend; that the one is gained by money, and the other by an obliging behaviour.

The

* In the text it is γραμματιων by *billets*; but probably it should be read γραμματεων, *secretaries*, there being no instances in antiquity that have come to our knowledge, of answers in writing to a personal application.

† τριπυς. ‡ κρατηρ. || δικοτυλας.

The Mantineans were the firſt who applied for his aſſiſtance. They admitted him into their city in the night; and having with his help expelled the Achæan garriſon, put themſelves under his protection. He re-eſtabliſhed their laws and ancient form of government, and retired the ſame day to Tegea. From thence he fetched a compaſs thro' Arcadia, and marched down to Pheræ in Achaia; intending by this movement either to bring the Achæans to a battle, or make them look upon Aratus in a mean light, for giving up the country, as it were, to his deſtroying ſword.

Hyperbatas was indeed general at that time, but Aratus had all the authority. The Achæans aſſembled their forces, and encamped at Dymeæ* near Hecatombœum; upon which Cleomenes marched up to them, though it was thought a raſh ſtep for him to take poſt between Dymeæ which belonged to the enemy, and the Achæan camp. However, he boldly challenged the Achæans, and indeed, forced them to battle, in which he entirely defeated them; killed great numbers upon the ſpot, and took many priſoners. Lango was his next object, from which he expelled an Achæan garriſon, and then put the town into the hands of the Eleans.

When the Achæan affairs were in this ruinous ſtate, Aratus, who uſed to be general every other year †, refuſed the command, though they preſſed him ſtrongly to accept it. But certainly it was wrong, when ſuch a ſtorm was raging, to quit the helm, and leave the direction to another. The firſt commands of Cleomenes appeared to the Achæan deputies‡ moderate enough; afterwards he inſiſted on having the command himſelf. In other matters, he ſaid, he ſhould not differ with them, for he would reſtore them both the priſoners and their lands. The Achæans agreed to a pacification on theſe conditions, and inviting

* Polybius calls it Dymæ.

† Ενοθως παρ ενιαυτον αει ϛρατηγειν. The former Engliſh tranſlator renders this, *who uſed to continue general two years together*; and Dacier, to the ſame ſenſe, *qui avoit accoutumé d'étre capitaine general tous les deux ans.* But they are both under a great miſtake. παρ ενιαυτον does certainly ſignify *every other year*. So in Polybius, παρα τεναρτην ἡμεραν, *every fourth day*; and in Ariſtotle, παρα μηνα τριτον, *every third month*.

‡ The two French tranſlators, and the Engliſh one employed by Tonſon, change μετρια here into ȣ μετρια, without any neceſſity, or pretence of authority for it. We do not ſee why Cleomenes might not, in the firſt conditions he propoſed, poſſibly demand ſomething leſs of the Achæans than their allowing him to be commander in chief, and governor of all Greece.

ing Cleomenes to Lerna, where a general aſſembly of their ſtate was to be held. Bnt Cleomenes haſtening his march too much heated himſelf, and then very imprudently drank cold water; the conſequence of which was, that he threw up a great quantity of blood, and loſt the uſe of his ſpeech. He therefore ſent the Achæans the moſt reſpectable of the priſoners, and putting off the meeting, retired to Lacedæmon.

This ruined the affairs of Greece. Had it not been for this, ſhe might have recovered out of her preſent diſtreſs, and have maintained herſelf againſt the inſolence and rapaciouſneſs of the Macedonians. Aratus either feared or diſtruſted Cleomenes, or envied his unexpected ſucceſs. He thought it intolerable that a young man newly ſprung up ſhould rob him at once of the honour and power which he had been in poſſeſſion of for three and thirty years, and come into a government which had been growing ſo long under his auſpices. For this reaſon, he firſt tried what his intereſt and powers of perſuaſion would do to keep the Achæans from cloſing with Cleomenes; but they were prevented from attending to him, by their admiration of the great ſpirit of Cleomenes, and their opinion that the demands of the Spartans were not unreaſonable, who only deſired to bring Peloponneſus back to its ancient model. Aratus then undertook a thing which would not have become any man in Greece, but in him was particularly diſhonourable, and unworthy of all his former conduct, both in the cabinet and the field— He called Antigonus into Greece, and filled Peloponneſus with Macedonians, though in his youth he had expelled them, and reſcued the citadel of Corinth out of their hands. He was even an enemy to all kings, and Antigonus, in particular, was equally hated by them. he loaded with a thouſand reproaches, as appears from the writings he had left behind him*. He boaſts that he had encountered and overcome innumerable difficulties, in order to deliver Athens from a Macedonian garriſon; and yet he brought thoſe very Macedonians, armed as they were, into his own country, into his own houſe, and even into the women's apartment. At the ſame time, he could not bear that a Spartan king, a deſcendant of Hercules, who wanted only to reſtore the ancient polity of his country, to correct its broken harmony, and bring it back to the ſober

* Aratus wrote a hiſtory of the Achæans, and of his own conduct.

ſober Doric tone which Lycurgus had given it*; he could not bear that ſuch a prince ſhould be declared general of the Sicyonians and Triccæans†. While he avoided the coarſe cake and the ſhort cloak; and what he thought the greateſt grievance in the whole ſyſtem of Cleomenes, the aboliſhing of riches, and the making poverty a more ſupportable thing, he made Achaia truckle to the diadem and purple of Macedonians, and of Aſiatic grandees. To ſhun the appearance of ſubmiſſion to Cleomenes, he offered ſacrifices to the divinity of Antigonus, and with a garland on his head, ſung *pæans* in honour of a rotten Macedonian. Theſe things we ſay not in accuſation of Aratus (for in many reſpects he was a great man and worthy of Greece) we mean only to point out with compaſſion the weakneſs of human nature, which in diſpoſitions the beſt formed to virtue, can produce no excellence without ſome taint of imperfection.

When the Achæans aſſembled again at Argos, and Cleomenes came down from Tegea to meet them, the Greeks entertained great hopes of peace. But Aratus, who had already ſettled the principal points with Antigonus, fearing that Cleomenes, either by his obliging manner of treating, or by force, would gain all he wanted of the people, propoſed, "That he ſhould take three hundred hoſtages for the ſecurity of his perſon, and enter the town alone; or, if he did not approve of that propoſal, ſhould come to the place of exerciſe without the walls, called *Cyllarabium* ‡, and treat there at the head of his army." Cleomenes remonſtrated that theſe proceedings were very unjuſt. He ſaid, "They ſhould have made him theſe propoſals at firſt, and not now, when he was come to their gates, diſtruſt and ſhut him out." He therefore wrote the Achæans a letter on this ſubject, almoſt filled with complaints of Aratus; and the applications of Aratus to the people were little more than invectives againſt the king of Sparta. The conſequence of this was, that the latter quickly retired, and ſent a herald to declare war againſt the Achæans. This herald, according to

* The muſic, like the architecture of the Dorians, was remarkable for its ſimplicity.

† This, probably, ſhould be Tritæans. Triteæ was a city of Phocis, and comprehended in the league; but Tricca, which was in Theſſaly, could hardly be ſo.

‡ From Cyllarbus, the ſon of Sthenelus.

to Aratus, was ſent not to Argos, but to Ægium*, in order that the Achæans might be entirely unprepared.—There were at this time great commotions among the members of the Achæan league; and many towns were ready to fall off. For the common people hoped for an equal diſtribution of lands, and to have their debts cancelled; while the better ſort in general were diſpleaſed at Aratus, and ſome of them highly provoked at his bringing the Macedonians into Peloponneſus.

Encouraged by theſe miſunderſtandings, Cleomenes entered Achaia; where he firſt took Pellene by ſurpriſe, and diſlodged the Achæan garriſon. Afterwards he made himſelf maſter of Pheneum and Penteleum. As the Achæans were apprehenſive of a revolt at Corinth and Sicyon, they ſent a body of cavalry and ſome mercenaries from Argos to guard againſt any meaſures tending that way, and went themſelves to celebrate the Nemean games at Argos.—Upon this, Cleomenes hoping, what really proved the caſe, that, if he could come ſuddenly upon the city, while it was filled with multitudes aſſembled to partake of the diverſions, he ſhould throw all into the greateſt confuſion, marched up to the walls by night, and ſeized the quarter called *Aſpis*, which lay above the theatre, notwithſtanding its difficulty of acceſs. This ſtruck them with ſuch terror that not a man thought of making any reſiſtance; they agreed to receive a garriſon, and gave twenty of the citizens as hoſtages for their acting as allies to Sparta, and following the ſtandard of Cleomenes as their general.

This action added greatly to the fame and authority of that prince. For the ancient kings of Sparta, with all their endeavours, could never fix Argos in their intereſt; and Pyrrhus, one of the ableſt generals in the world, though he forced his way into the town, could not hold it, but loſt his life in the attempt, and had great part of his army cut in pieces. Hence the deſpatch and keenneſs of Cleomenes were the more admired; and they who before had laughed at him for declaring he would tread in the ſteps of Solon and Lycurgus in the cancelling of debts, and in an equal diviſion of property, were now fully perſuaded that he was the ſole cauſe of all the change in the ſpirit and ſucceſs of the Spartans. In both reſpects, they

* This was a maritime town of Achaia on the Corinthian Bay.—the intention of Cleomenes was to take it by ſurpriſe, before the inhabitants could have intelligence of the war.

they were ſo contemptible before, and ſo little able to help themſelves, that the Ætolians made an inroad into Laconia, and carried off fifty thouſand ſlaves. On which occaſion, one of the old Spartans ſaid, "the enemy had done "them a kindneſs, in taking ſuch a heavy charge off their "hands." Yet they had no ſooner returned to their primitive cuſtoms and diſcipline, than, as if Lycurgus himſelf had reſtored his polity, and invigorated it with his preſence, they had given the moſt extraordinary inſtances of valour and obedience to their magiſtrates, in raiſing Sparta to its ancient ſuperiority in Greece, and recovering Peloponneſus.

Cleonæ and Phlius * came in the ſame tide of ſucceſs with Argos. Aratus was then making an inquiſition at Corinth into the conduct of ſuch as were reported to be in the Lacedæmonian intereſt. But when the news of their late loſſes reached him, and he found that the city was falling off to Cleomenes, and wanted to get rid of the Achæans †, he was not a little alarmed. In this confuſion he could think of no better expedient than that of calling the citizens to council, and, in the mean time, he ſtole away to the gate. A horſe being ready for him there, he mounted and fled to Sicyon. The Corinthians were in ſuch haſte to pay their compliments to Cleomenes, that, Aratus tells us, they killed or ſpoiled all their horſes.—He acquaints us alſo, that Cleomenes highly blamed the people of Corinth for ſuffering him to eſcape. Nevertheleſs, he adds, that Megiſtonus came to him on the part of that prince, and offered to give him large ſums if he would deliver up the citadel of Corinth, where he had an Achæan garriſon. He anſwered, "That affairs did not "then depend upon him, but he muſt be governed by "their circumſtances." So Aratus himſelf writes.

Cleomenes, in his march from Argos, added the Trœzenians, the Epidaurians, and Hermionians, to the number of his friends and allies, and then went to Corinth, and drew a line of circumvallation about the citadel, which the Achæans refuſed to ſurrender. However, he ſent for the friends and ſtewards of Aratus, and ordered them

* Towns between Argos and Corinth.

† In the printed text it is, *Αχαιων απαλλαγηναι βυλομενων*, and the Latin and French tranſlators have followed it, rendering it to this ſenſe, *and the Achæans were haſtening home*: but two manuſcripts give us ἐπομγενην, which is to be referred to προγιν, before; and, with the former Engliſh tranſlator, we chooſe to follow that reading.

them to take care of his houſe and effects in that city. He likewiſe ſent again to that general by Tritymallus, the Meſſenian, and propoſed that the citadel ſhould be garriſoned half with Achæans and half with Lacedæmonians; offering, at the ſame time, to double the penſion he had from Ptolemy, king of Egypt. As Aratus, inſtead of accepting theſe conditions, ſent his ſon and other hoſtages to Antigonus, and perſuaded the Achæans to give orders that the citadel of Corinth ſhould be put in the hands of that prince, Cleomenes immediately ravaged the territories of Sicyon, and in purſuance of a decree of the Corinthians, ſeized on the whole eſtate of Aratus. After Antigonus had paſſed Gerania *, with a great army, Cleomenes thought it more adviſeable to fortify the Onæan mountains †, than the Iſthmus, and by the advantage of his poſt to tire out the Macedonians, rather than hazard a pitched battle with a veteran phalanx. Antigonus was greatly perplexed at this plan of operations. For he had neither laid in a ſufficient quantity of proviſions, nor could he eaſily force the paſs by which Cleomenes had ſat down. He attempted one night, indeed, to get into Peloponneſus by the port of Lachæum ‡, but was repulſed with loſs.

Cleomenes was much encouraged with this ſucceſs, and his troops went to their evening's refreſhment with pleaſure. Antigonus, on the other hand, was extremely diſpirited; for he ſaw himſelf in ſo troubleſome a ſituation, that it was ſcarcely poſſible to find any reſources, which were not extremely difficult. At laſt he determined to move to the promontory of Heræum, and from thence to tranſport his troops in boats to Sicyon; but that required a great deal of time, and very conſiderable preparations. However, the evening after, ſome of the friends of Aratus arrived from Argos by ſea, being ſent to acquaint him that the Argives were revolting from Cleomenes, and purpoſed to invite him to that city. Ariſtotle was the author of the defection; and he had found no great difficulty in perſuading the people into it, becauſe Cleomenes, had not cancelled their debts, as he had given them room to hope. Upon this Aratus, with fifteen hundred men, whom he had from Antigonus, ſailed to Epidaurus. But Ariſtotle,

* Mountain between Megara and Corinth.

† This range of mountains extends from the Scironian rocks, on the road to Attica, as far as mount Citheron. Strab. l. viii. They were called ὀρὴ ονεια, the mountains of Aſſes.

‡ One of the harbours at Corinth.

Aristotle, not waiting for him, assembled the townsmen, and, with the assistance of Timoxenus and a party of Achæans from Sicyon, attacked the citadel.

Cleomenes getting intelligence of this about the second watch of the night, sent for Megistonus, and, in an angry tone, ordered him to the relief of Argos. For it he was who had principally undertaken for the obedience of the Argives, and, by that means, prevented the expulsion of such as were suspected. Having despatched Megistonus upon this business, the Spartan prince watched the motions of Antigonus, and endeavoured to dispel the fears of the Corinthians, assuring them, it was no great thing that had happened at Argos, but only an inconsiderable tumult. Megistonus got into Argos, and was slain in a skirmish there; the garrison were hard pressed, and messenger after messenger sent to Cleomenes. Upon this, he was afraid that the enemy, after they had made themselves masters of Argos, would block up the passages against him, and then go and ravage Laconia at their pleasure, and besiege Sparta itself, which was left without defence. He therefore decamped from Corinth; the consequence of which was the loss of the town; for Antigonus immediately entered it, and placed a garrison there. In the mean time, Cleomenes, having collected his forces which were scattered in their march, attempted to scale the walls of Argos; but failing in that enterprise, he broke open the vaults under the quarter called *Aspis*, gained an entrance that way, and joined his garrison, which still held out against the Achæans. After this, he took some other quarters of the cityby assault; and ordering the Cretan archers to ply their bows, cleared the streets of the enemy. But when he saw Antigonus descending with his infantry from the heights into the plain, and his cavalry already pouring into the city, he thought it impossible to maintain his post. He had now no other resource but to collect all his men, and retire along the walls, which he accordingly did without loss. Thus, after achieving the greatest things in a short space of time, and making himself master of almost all Peloponnesus in one campaign, he lost all in less time than he gained it; some cities immediately withdrawing from his alliance, and others surrendering themselves not long after to Antigonus.

Such was the ill succes of this expedition. And what was no less a misfortune, as he was marching home, mes-

ſengers from Lacedæmon met him in the evening near Tegea, and informed him of the death of his wife. His affection and eſteem for Agiatis was ſo great, that, amidſt the current of his happieſt ſucceſs, he could not ſtay from her a whole campaign, but often repaired to Sparta. No wonder, then, that a young man, deprived of ſo beautiful and virtuous a wife, was extremely affected with the loſs. Yet his ſorrow did not debaſe the dignity of his mind. He ſpoke in the ſame accent; he preſerved the ſame dreſs and look; he gave his orders to his officers, and provided for the ſecurity of Tegea.

Next morning he entered Lacedæmon; and after paying a proper tribute to grief at home with his mother and his children, he applied himſelf to the concerns of ſtate. Ptolemy, king of Egypt, agreed to furniſh him with ſuccours; but it was on condition that he ſent him his mother and children as hoſtages. This circumſtance he knew not how to communicate to his mother; and he often attempted to mention it to her, but could not go forward. She began to ſuſpect that there was ſomething which he was afraid to open to her; and ſhe aſked his friends what it might be. At laſt he ventured to tell her; upon which ſhe laughed very pleaſantly, and ſaid, "Was this the "thing which you have ſo long heſitated to expreſs? "Why do not you immediately put us on board a ſhip, "and ſend this carcaſe of mine where you think it may "be of moſt uſe to Sparta, before age renders it good "for nothing, and ſinks it into the grave?"

When every thing was prepared for the voyage, they went by land to Tænarus; the army conducting them to that port. Cratiſiclea being on the point of taking ſhip, took Cleomenes alone into the temple of Neptune, where ſeeing him in great emotion and concern, ſhe threw her arms about him, and ſaid, "King of Sparta, take care that when "we go out, no one perceive us weeping, or doing any "thing unworthy that glorious place. This alone is in our "power; the event is in the hands of God." After ſhe had given him this advice, and compoſed her countenance, ſhe went on board, with her little grandſon in her arms, and ordered the pilot to put to ſea as ſoon as poſſible.

Upon her arrival in Egypt, ſhe underſtood that Ptolemy had received ambaſſadors from Antigonus, and ſeemed to liſten to his propoſals; and, on the other hand, ſhe was informed that Cleomenes, though invited by the Achæans to a pacification, was afraid, on her account, to

to put an end to the war, without Ptolemy's consent. In this difficulty she wrote to her son, to desire him "to do "what he thought most advantageous and honourable "for Sparta, and not for the sake of an old woman and "a child, to live always in fear of Ptolemy." So great was the behaviour of Cratesiclea under adverse fortune.

After Antigonus had taken Tegea, and plundered Orchomanus and Mantinea, Cleomenes, now shut up within the bounds of Laconia, enfranchised such of the *helots* as could pay five Attic *minæ* for their liberty. By this expedient he raised fifty talents; and having, moreover, armed and trained in the Macedonian manner two thousand of those *helots*, whom he designed to oppose to the *Leucaspides* of Antigonus, he engaged in a great and unexpected enterprize. Megalopolis was at that time as great and powerful a city as Sparta. It was supported, besides, by the Achæans and Antigonus, whose troops lay on each side of it. Indeed, the Megalopolitans were the foremost and most eager of all the Achæans in their application to Antigonus. This city, however, Cleomenes resolved to surprise; for which purpose he ordered his men to take five days provisions, and led them to Sellasia, as if he designed an inroad into the territories of Argos. But he turned short, and entered those of Megalopolis; and, after having refreshed his troops at Rhœtium, he marched, by Helicon *, directly to the object he had in view. When he was near it, he sent Panteus before with two companies of Lacedæmonians, to seize that part of the wall which was between the two towers, and which he understood to be the least guarded. He followed with the rest of his army at the common pace. Panteus finding not only that quarter, but great part of the wall without defence, pulled it down in some places, undermined it in others, and put all the sentinels to the sword. While he was thus employed, Cleomenes came up, and entered the city with his forces, before the Megalopolitans knew of his approach.

They were no sooner apprised of the misfortune which had befallen them, than the greatest part left the city, taking their money and most valuable effects with them. The rest made a stand, and though they could not dislodge the enemy, yet their resistance gave their fellow-citizens opportunity.

* Lubinus thinks it ought to be read Helisson, there being no such place as Helicon in Arcadia.

opportunity to efcape. There remained not above a thoufand men in the town, all the reft having retired to Meffene, with their wives and children, before there was any poffibility of purfuing them. A confiderable part even of thofe who had armed and fought in defence of the city got off, and very few were taken prifoners. Of this number were Lyfandridas and Thearidas, two perfons of great name and authority in Megalopolis. As they were fuch refpectable men, the foldiers carried them before Cleomenes. Lyfandridas no fooner faw Cleomenes, than he thus addreffed him. "Now," faid he in a loud voice, becaufe it was at a diftance, "now, king of Sparta, you "have an opportunity to do an action much more glo-"rious and princely than the late one, and to acquire "immortal honour." Cleomenes gueffing at his aim, made anfwer; "You would not have me reftore you the "town?" "That is the very thing," faid Lyfandridas, "I would propofe. I advife you, by all means, not to "deftroy fo fine a city, but to fill it with firm friends and "faithful allies, by reftoring the Megalopolitans to their "country, and becoming the faviour of fo confiderable a "people." Cleomenes paufed a while, and then replied, "This is hard to believe; but be it as it will, let glory "with us have always greater weight than intereft." In confequence of this determination, he fent the two men to Meffene, with a herald in his own name, to make the Megalopolitans an offer of their town, on condition that they would renounce the Achæans, and declare themfelves his friends and allies.

Though Cleomenes made fo gracious and humane a propofal, Philopœmen would not fuffer the Megalopolitans to accept it, or to quit the Achæan league *, but affuring them that the king of Sparta, inftead of inclining to reftore them their city, wanted to get the citizens too into his power, he forced Thearidas and Lyfandridas to leave Meffene. This is that Philopœmen who afterwards was the leading man among the Achæans, and (as we have related in his life) one of the moft illuftrious perfonages among the Greeks.

Upon this news, Cleomenes, who hitherto had kept the houfes and goods of the Megalopolitans with fuch care, that not the leaft thing was embezzled, was enraged to fuch

* Polybius beftows great and juft encomiums on this conduct of the Megalopolitans. l. 11.

ſuch a degree, that he plundered the whole, ſent the ſtatues and pictures to Sparta, and levelled the greateſt and beſt parts of the city with the ground. After this, he marched home again, being under ſome apprehenſions that Antigonus and the Achæans would come upon him. They, however, made no motion towards it, for they were then holding a council at Ægium. Aratus mounted the *roſtrum* on that occaſion, where he wept a long time, with his robe before his face. They were all greatly ſurpriſed, and deſired him to ſpeak. At laſt he ſaid, "Megalopolis "is deſtroyed by Cleomenes." The Achæans were aſtoniſhed at ſo great and ſudden a ſtroke, and the council immediately broke up. Antigonus made great efforts to go to the relief of the place; but, as his troops aſſembled ſlowly from their winter-quarters, he ordered them to remain where they were, and marched to Argos with the forces he had with him.

This made the ſecond enterpriſe of Cleomenes appear raſh and deſperate: but Polybius *, on the contrary, informs us, that it was conducted with great prudence and foreſight. For knowing (as he tells us) that the Macedonians were diſperſed in winter-quarters, and that Antigonus lay in Argos with only his friends and a few mercenaries about him, he entered the territories of that city; in the perſuaſion that either the ſhame of ſuffering ſuch an inroad would provoke Antigonus to battle, and expoſe him to a defeat, or that if he declined the combat, it would bring him into diſrepute with the Argives. The event juſtified his expectation. When the people of Argos ſaw their country laid waſte, every thing that was valuable deſtroyed or carried off, they ran in great diſpleaſure to the king's gates, and beſieged them with clamour, bidding him either go out and fight, or elſe give place to his ſuperiors. Antigonus, however, like a wiſe and able general, thought the cenſures of ſtrangers no diſgrace, in compariſon of his quitting a place of ſecurity, and raſhly hazarding a battle, and therefore he abode by his firſt reſolutions. Cleomenes, in the mean time, marched up to the very walls, inſulted his enemies, and, before he retired, ſpread deſolation at his pleaſure.

Soon after his return, he was informed that Antigonus was come to Tegea, with a deſign to enter Laconia on that ſide. Upon this emergency, he put his troops under march

* Polybius, lib. xi.

march another way, and appeared again before Argos by break of day, ravaging all the adjacent fields. He did not now cut down the corn with ſcythes and ſickles, as people uſually do, but beat it down with wooden inſtruments in the form of ſcymitars, as if this deſtruction was only an amuſement to his ſoldiers in their march. Yet when they would have ſet fire to Cyllarabis, the ſchool of exerciſe, he prevented it; reflecting that the ruin of Megalopolis was dictated rather by paſſion than by reaſon.

Antigonus immediately returned to Argos, having taken care to place guards in all the paſſes of the mountains. But Cleomenes, as if he held him and his operations in the utmoſt contempt, ſent heralds to demand the keys of Juno's temple, that he might ſacrifice to the goddeſs. After he had pleaſed himſelf with this inſult on his enemy, and offered his ſacrifice under the walls of the temple, which was faſt ſhut up, he led his troops off to Phlius. In his march from thence he diſlodged the garriſon of Ologuntum, and then proceeded by Orchomenus; by which means he not only inſpired this people with freſh courage, but came to be conſidered by the enemy as a moſt able general, and a man capable of the greateſt undertakings. For, with the ſtrength of the ſingle city to oppoſe the whole power of the Macedonians and Peloponneſians, and all the treaſures of the king; and not only to keep Laconia untouched, but to carry devaſtation into the enemy's country, were indications of no common genius and ſpirit.

He who firſt called money *the ſinews of buſineſs*, ſeems principally to have had reſpect to that of war. And Demades, when the Athenians called upon him to equip their navy and get it out, though their treaſury was very low, told them, "They muſt think of baking bread, before "they thought of an embarkation." It is alſo ſaid that the old Archidamus, at the beginning of the Peloponneſian war, when the allies deſired that the quota of each ſhould be determined, made anſwer, that "war cannot "be kept at a ſet diet." And in this caſe we may juſtly ſay, that as wreſtlers, ſtrengthened by long exerciſe, do at laſt tire out thoſe who have equal ſkill and agility, but not the exerciſe; ſo Antigonus coming to the war with vaſt funds, in proceſs of time tired out and overcame Cleomenes, who could but in a very ſlender manner pay his mercenaries, and give his Spartans bread.

In all other reſpects the times favoured Cleomenes, Antigonus

tigonus being drawn home by the bad posture of his affairs. For in his absence the barbarians invaded and ravaged all Macedonia. The Illyrians in particular, descending with a great army from the north, harassed the Macedonians so much, that they were forced to send for Antigonus. Had the letters been brought a little before the battle, that general would have immediately departed, and bidden the Achæans a long farewel. But fortune, who loves to make the greatest affairs turn upon some minute circumstance, shewed on this occasion of what consequence a moment of time may be *. As soon as the battle of Sellasia † was fought, and Cleomenes had lost his army and his city, messengers came to call Antigonus home. This was a great aggravation of the Spartan king's misfortunes. Had he held off and avoided an action only a day or two longer, he would have been under no necessity of fighting; and, after the Macedonians were gone, he might have made peace with the Achæans on what conditions he pleased. But such, as we said, was his want of money, that he had no resource but the sword; and, therefore, as Polybius informs us, with twenty thousand men was forced to challenge thirty thousand.

He shewed himself an excellent general in the whole course of the action; his Spartans behaved with great spirit, and his mercenaries fought not ill. His defeat was owing to the superior advantage the Macedonians had in their armour, and to the weight and impetuosity of their *phalanx*.

Phylarchus, indeed, assures us, it was the treachery of one of his officers, that ruined the affairs of Cleomenes. Antigonus had ordered the Illyrians and Acarnanians secretly to fetch a compass and surround that wing which was commanded by Euclidas, the brother of Cleomenes, while he was marshalling the rest of his army. Cleomenes

* Plutarch had this reflection from Polybius.

† Polybius has given a particular account of this battle. Antigonus had twenty-eight thousand foot, and twelve hundred horse. The army of Cleomenes consisted only of twenty thousand; but it was advantageously posted. He was encamped on two mountains, which were almost inaccessible, and separated only by a narrow defile. These he had fortified with strong ramparts and a deep fosse; so that Antigonus, after reconnoitring his situation, did not think proper to attack him, but encamped at a small distance on the plain. At length, for want of money and provisions, Cleomenes was forced to come to action, and was beaten. Pol. lib. II.

menes taking a view from an eminence of his adversary's disposition, could not perceive where the Illyrians and Arcananians were posted, and began to fear they were designed for some such manœuvre. He therefore called Damoteles, whose business it was to guard against any surprise, and ordered him to reconnoitre the enemy's rear with particular care, and form the best conjecture he could of the movements they intended. Damoteles, who is said to be bribed by Antigonus, assured him that "he "had nothing to fear from that quarter, for all was safe "in the rear; nor was there any thing more to be done "but to bear down upon the front." Cleomenes, satisfied with this report, attacked Antigonus. The Spartans charged with so much vigour, that they made the Macedonian *phalanx* give ground, and eagerly pursued their advantage for about five furlongs. The king then seeing Euclidas in the other wing quite surrounded, stopped, and cried out, "thou art lost, my dear brother, "thou art lost! in spite of all thy valour! but great is "thy example to our Spartan youth, and the songs of "our matrons shall for ever record thee *!"

Euclidas, and the wing he commanded, thus being slain, the victors fell upon Cleomenes, who seeing his men in great confusion, and unable to maintain the fight, provided as well as he could for his own safety. It is said that great numbers of the mercenaries were killed; and that of six thousand Lacedæmonians no more than two hundred were saved.

When he reached Sparta, he advised the citizens to receive Antigonus. "For my part," (said he, "I am willing either to live or to die, as the one or the "other may be most for the interest of my country." Seeing the women run to meet the few brave men who had escaped with him, help to take off their armour, and present them with wine, he retired into his own house. After the death of his wife, he had taken into his house a young woman, who was a native of Megalopolis, and free-born, but fell into his hands at the sack of the place. She approached him, according to custom, with a tender of her services on his return from the field. But though both thirsty and weary, he would neither drink nor sit down

* He acted like a brave soldier, but not like a skilful officer. Instead of pouring upon the enemy from the heights, and retiring as he found it convenient, he stood still, and suffered the Macedonians to cut off his retreat.

down; he only leaned his elbow againſt a pillar, and his head upon it, armed as he was; and having reſted a few moments, while he conſidered what courſe to take, he repaired to Gythium with his friends. There they went on board veſſels provided for that purpoſe, and immediately put out to ſea.

Upon the arrival of Antigonus, Sparta ſurrendered. His behaviour to the inhabitants was mild and humane. and not unſuitable to the dignity of their republic. For he offered them no kind of inſult, but reſtored to them their laws and polity; and after having ſacrificed to the gods, retired the third day. He was informed, indeed, that Macedonia was involved in a dangerous war; and that the barbarians were ravaging the country. Beſides, he was in a deep conſumption, and had a continual defluxion upon the lungs. However, he bore up under his affliction, and wreſtled with domeſtic wars, until a great victory over, and carnage of the barbarians made him die more glorious. Phylarchus tells us, (and it is not at all improbable) that he burſt a veſſel in his lungs with ſhouting in the battle: though it paſſed in the ſchools, that in expreſſing his joy after the victory, and crying out, "O glo-"rious day!" he brought up a great quantity of blood, and fell into a fever, of which he died. Thus much concerning Antigonus.

From the iſle of Cythea, where Cleomenes firſt touched, he ſailed to another iſland called Ægialia. There he had formed a deſign to paſs over to Cyrene, when one of his friends, named Therycion, a man of high and intrepid ſpirit, on all occaſions, and one who always indulged himſelf in a lofty and haughty turn of expreſſion, came privately to Cleomenes, and thus addreſſed him: "We have "loſt, my prince, the moſt glorious death, which we "might have found in the battle; though the world had "heard us boaſt that Antigonus ſhould never conquer "the king of Sparta till he had ſlain him. Yet there "is another exit ſtill offered us by glory and virtue. "Whither then are we ſo abſurdly ſailing? flying a "death that is near, and ſeeking one that is remote. If "it is not diſhonourable for the deſcendants of Hercules "to ſerve the ſucceſſors of Philip and Alexander, why do "not we ſave ourſelves a long voyage, by making our "ſubmiſſion to Antigonus, who, in all probability, as "much excels Ptolemy, as the Macedonians do the "Egyptians? But if we do not chooſe to be governed

"by

"by a man who beat us in the field, why do we take one "who never conquered us, for our maſter? Is it that "we may ſhew our inferiority to two, inſtead of one, by "flying before Antigonus, and then going to flatter "Ptolemy? Shall we ſay that you go into Egypt for the "ſake of your mother? It will be a glorious and happy "thing truly for her, to ſhew Ptolemy's wives her ſon, "of a king become a captive and an exile. No! while "we are yet maſters of our ſwords, and are yet in ſight of "Laconia, let us deliver ourſelves from this miſerable "fortune, and make our excuſe for our paſt behaviour to "thoſe brave men who fell for Sparta at Sellaſia. Or "ſhall we rather ſit down in Egypt, and inquire whom "Antigonus has left governor of Lacedæmon?"

Thus Therycion ſpoke, and Cleomenes made this anſwer: "Doſt thou think, then, wretch that thou art! doſt "thou think, by running into the arms of death, than "which nothing is more eaſy to find, to ſhew thy cou-"rage and fortitude? And doſt thou not conſider that "this flight is more daſtardly than the former? Better "men than we have given way to their enemies, being "either overſet by fortune, or oppreſſed by numbers. "But he who gives out either for fear of labour and pain, "or of the opinions and tongues of men, falls a victim "to his own cowardice. A voluntary death ought to "be an action, not a retreat from action. For it is an "ungenerous thing either to live or to die to ourſelves. "All that thy expedient could poſſibly do, would be only "the extricating us from our preſent misfortunes, with-"out anſwering any purpoſe either of honour or utility. "But I think neither thou nor I ought to give up all "hopes for our country. If thoſe hopes ſhould deſert us, "death, when we ſeek for him, will not be hard to find." Therycion made no reply; but the firſt opportunity he had to leave Cleomenes, he walked down to the ſhore and ſtabbed himſelf.

Cleomenes left Ægialia, and ſailed to Africa, where he was received by the king's officers, and conducted to Alexandria. When he was firſt introduced to Ptolemy*, that prince behaved to him with ſufficient kindneſs and humanity; but when, upon farther trial of him, he found what ſtrength of underſtanding he had, and that his laconic and ſimple way of converſing was mixed with a vein

* Ptolemy Eurgetes.

vein of wit and pleaſantry; when he ſaw that he did not, in any inſtance whatever, diſhonour his royal birth, or crouch to fortune, he began to take more pleaſure in his diſcourſe, than in the mean ſacrifices of complaiſance and flattery. He greatly repented, too, and bluſhed at the thought of having neglected ſuch a man, and given him up to Antigonus, who, by conquering him, had acquired ſo much power and glory. He, therefore, encouraged him now with every mark of attention and reſpect, and promiſed to ſend him back to Greece with a fleet and ſupply of money, to re-eſtabliſh him in his kingdom. His preſent appointments amounted to four-and-twenty talents by the year. Out of this he maintained himſelf and his friends in a ſober and frugal manner, and beſtowed the reſt in offices of humanity to ſuch Greeks as had left their country and retired into Egypt.

But old Ptolemy died before he could put his intentions in favour of Cleomenes in execution; and the court ſoon becoming a ſcene of debauchery, where women had the ſway, the buſineſs of Cleomenes was neglected. For the king * was ſo much corrupted with wine and women, that in his more ſober and ſerious hours he would attend to nothing but the celebration of myſteries, and the beating a drum with his royal hands about the palace; while the great affairs of ſtate were left to his miſtreſs Agathoclea, and her mother, and Oenanthes the infamous miniſter to his pleaſures. It appears, however, that at firſt ſome uſe was made of Cleomenes. For Ptolemy being afraid of his brother Magas, who, through his mother's intereſt, ſtood well with the army, admitted Cleomenes to a conſultation in his cabinet: the ſubject of which was, whether he ſhould deſtroy his brother. All the reſt voted for it, but Cleomenes oppoſed it ſtrongly. He ſaid, "The king, if it were poſſible, ſhould have more brothers, "for the greater ſecurity of the crown, and the better "management of affairs." And when Soſibius, the king's principal favourite, replied, "That the mercenaries could "not be depended on, while Magas was alive," Cleomenes deſired them to give themſelves no pain about that, "For," ſaid he, "above three thouſand of the mercenaries "are Peloponneſians, who, upon a nod from me, will be "ready with their arms." Hence, Ptolemy, for the preſent, looked upon Cleomenes not only as a faſt friend, but

* Ptolemy Philopator.

but a man of power; but his weakneſs afterwards increaſing his timidity, as is common with people of little underſtanding, he began to place his ſecurity in jealouſy, and ſuſpicion. His miniſters were of the ſame ſtamp, and they conſidered Cleomenes as an object of fear, on account of his intereſt with the mercenaries; inſomuch that many were heard to ſay, "That he was a lion among a flock of ſheep." Such indeed, he ſeemed to be in court, where, with a ſilent ſeverity of aſpect, he obſerved all that paſſed.

In theſe circumſtances, he made no more applications for ſhips or troops. But being informed that Antigonus was dead; that the Achæans were engaged in war with the Ætolians; and that affairs called ſtrongly for his preſence, in the troubles and diſtractions that then reigned in Peloponneſus, he deſired only a conveyance thither for himſelf and his friends. Yet no man liſtened to him. The king, who ſpent his time in all kinds of bachanalian revels with women, could not poſſibly hear him. Soſibius, the prime miniſter, thought Cleomenes muſt prove a formidable and dangerous man, if he were kept in Egypt againſt his will; and that it was not ſafe to diſmiſs him, becauſe of his bold and enterpriſing ſpirit; and becauſe he had been an eye-witneſs to the diſtempered ſtate of the kingdom. For it was not in the power of money to mollify him. As the Ox Apis, though revelling, to all appearance, in every delight that he can deſire, yet longs after the liberty which nature gave him, wants to bound over the fields and paſtures at his pleaſure, and diſcovers a manifeſt uneaſineſs under the hands of the prieſt who feeds him; ſo Cleomenes could not be ſatisfied with a ſoft and effeminate life; but, like Achilles,

> Conſuming cares lay heavy on his mind:
> In his black thoughts revenge and ſlaughter roll,
> And ſcenes of blood riſe dreadful in his ſoul. Pope.

While his affairs were in this poſture, Nicagoras the Meſſenian, a man who concealed the moſt rancorous hatred of Cleomenes, under the pretence of friendſhip, came to Alexandria. It ſeems he had formerly ſold him a handſome piece of ground, and the king, either through want of money, or his continual engagement in war, had neglected to pay him for it. Cleomenes, who happened to be walking upon the quay, ſaw this Nicagoras juſt landing

ing from a merchantman, and saluting him with great kindess, asked, "what business had brought him to Egypt?" Nicagoras returned the compliment with equal appearance of friendship, and answered; "I am bringing "some fine war-horses for the king." Cleomenes laughed, and said, "I could rather have wished that you had "brought him some female musicians and pathics; for "those are the cattle that the king at present likes best." Nicagoras, at that time, only smiled; but a few days after he put Cleomenes in mind of the field he had sold him, and desired he might now be paid; pretending, "that he would not have given him any trouble about it, "if he had not found considerable loss in the disposal of "his merchandise." Cleomenes assured him, "That he "had nothing left of what the kings of Egypt had given "him;" upon which, Nicagoras, in his disappointment, acquainted Sosibius with the joke upon the king. Sosibius received the information with pleasure; but, being desirous to have something against Cleomenes that would exasperate Ptolemy still more, he persuaded Nicagoras to leave a letter, asserting, that, "if the Spar-"tan prince had received a supply of ships and men from "the king of Egypt's bounty, he would have made use "of them in seizing Cyrene for himself." Nicagoras accordingly left the letter, and set sail. Four days after, Sosibius carried it to Ptolemy, as if just come to his hands; and having worked up the young prince to revenge, it was resolved that Cleomenes should have a large apartment assigned him, and be served there as formerly, but not suffered to go out.

This was a great affliction to Cleomenes; and the following accident made his prospects still more miserable. Ptolemy, the son of Chrysermus, who was an intimate friend of the king's, had all along behaved to Cleomenes with great civility; they seemed to like each other's company, and were upon some terms of confidence. Cleomenes, in this distress, desired the son of Chrysermus to come and speak to him. He came and talked to him plausibly enough, endeavouring to dispel his suspicions and to apologise for the king. But as he was going out of the apartment, without observing that Cleomenes followed him to the door, he gave the keepers a severe reprimand, "for looking so carelessly after a wild beast, who, "if he escaped, in all probabilty could be taken no "more

"more." Cleomenes having heard this, retired before Ptolemy perceived him, and acquainted his friends with it. Upon this, they all diſmiſſed their former hopes, and, taking the meaſures which anger dictated, they reſolved to revenge themſelves of Ptolemy's injurious and inſolent behaviour, and then die as became Spartans, inſtead of waiting long for their doom in confinement, like victims fatted for the altar. For they thought it an inſufferable thing that Cleomenes, after he had diſdained to come to terms with Antigonus, a brave warrior, and a man of action, ſhould ſit expecting his fate from a prince who aſſumed the character of a prieſt of Cybele; and who, after he had laid aſide his drum, and was tired of his dance, would find another kind of ſport in putting him to death.

After they had taken their reſolution, Ptolemy happening to go to Canopus, they propagated a report, that, by the king's order, Cleomenes was to be releaſed; and as it was the cuſtom of the kings of Egypt to ſend thoſe to whom they deſigned to extend ſuch grace a ſupper, and other tokens of friendſhip, the friends of Cleomenes made ample proviſion for the purpoſe, and ſent it to the gate. By this ſtratagem the keepers were deceived; for they imagined that the whole was ſent by the king. Cleomenes then offered ſacrifice, with a chaplet of flowers on his head, and afterwards ſat down with his friends to the banquet, taking care that the keepers ſhould have large portions to regale them. It is ſaid, that he ſet about his enterpriſe ſooner than he intended, becauſe he found that one of the ſervants who was in the ſecret had been out all night with his miſtreſs. Fearing, therefore, that a diſcovery might be made, about mid-day, while the intoxication of the preceding night ſtill kept the guards faſt aſleep, he put on his military tunic, having firſt opened the ſeam of the left ſhoulder, and ruſhed out, ſword in hand, accompanied by his friends, who were thirteen in number, and accoutred in the ſame manner.

One of them, named Hippotas, though lame, at firſt was enabled, by the ſpirit of the enterpriſe, to keep pace with them; but afterwards perceiving, that they went ſlower on his account, he deſired them to kill him, and not ruin the whole ſcheme by waiting for a man who could do them no ſervice. By good fortune they found an Alexandrian leading a horſe in the ſtreet; they took it,

it, and set Hippotas upon it, and then moved swiftly through the streets, all the way inviting the people to liberty. They had just spirit enough left to praise and admire the bold attempt of Cleomenes, but not a man of them ventured to follow or assist him.

Ptolemy, the son of Chrysermus, happening to come out of the palace, three of them fell upon him, and despatched him. Another Ptolemy who was governor of the city, advanced to meet hem in his chariot: they attacked and dispersed his officers and guards; and dragging him out of the chariot, put him to the sword. Then they marched to the citadel, with a design to break open the prison and join the prisoners, who were no small number, to their party. But the keepers had prevented them by strongly barricading the gates. Cleomenes, thus disappointed again, roamed up and down the city; and he found that not a single man would join him, but that all avoided him as they would avoid infection.

He therefore, stopped, and said to his friends, "It is "no wonder that women govern a people who fly from "liberty;" adding, "That he hoped they would all die "in a manner that would reflect no dishonour upon "him, or on their own achievements." Hippotas desired one of the younger men to despatch him, and was the first that fell. Afterwards each of them without fear or delay, fell upon his own sword, except Panteus, who was the first man that scaled the walls of Megalopolis, when it was taken by surprise. He was in the flower of his age; remarkable for his beauty, and of a happier turn than the rest of the youth for the Spartan discipline, which perfections had given him a great share in the king's regard; and he now gave him orders not to despatch himself, till he saw his prince and all the rest breathless on the ground. Panteus tried one after another with his dagger, as they lay, lest some one should happen to be left with life in him. On pricking Cleomenes in the foot, he perceived a contortion in his face. He, therefore kissed him, and sat down by him till the breath was out of his body; and then embracing the corpse, slew himself upon it.

Thus fell Cleomenes, after he had been sixteen years king of Sparta, and shewed himself in all respects the great man. When the report of his death had spread over the city, Cratesiclea, though a woman of superior for-

fortitude, ſunk under the weight of the calamity; ſhe embraced the children of Cleomenes, and wept over them. The elder of them, diſengaging himſelf from her arms, got unſuſpected to the top of the houſe, and threw himſelf down headlong. The child was not killed, but much hurt; and, when they took him up, he loudly expreſſed his grief and indignation that they would not ſuffer him to deſtroy himſelf.

Ptolemy was no ſooner informed of theſe things, than he ordered the body of Cleomenes to be flayed, and nailed to a croſs, and his children to be put to death, together with his mother, and the women her companions. Amongſt theſe was the wife of Panteus, a woman of great beauty, and a moſt majeſtic preſence. They had been but lately married, and their misfortunes overtook them amidſt the firſt tranſports of love. When her huſband went with Cleomenes from Sparta, ſhe was deſirous of accompanying him; but was prevented by her parents, who kept her in cloſe cuſtody. But ſoon after ſhe provided herſelf a horſe and a little money, and, making her eſcape by night, rode at full ſpeed to Tænarus, and there embarked on board a ſhip bound for Egypt. She was brought ſafe to Panteus, and ſhe cheerfully ſhared with him in all the inconveniences they found in a foreign country. When the ſoldiers came to take out Cratiſiclea to execution, ſhe led her by the hand, aſſiſting in bearing her robe, and deſired her to exert all the courage ſhe was miſtreſs of; though ſhe was far from being afraid of death, and deſired no other favour than that ſhe might die before her children. But when they came to the place of execution. the children ſuffered before her eyes, and then Cratiſiclea was deſpatched, who, in this extreme diſtreſs, uttered only theſe words, "O! my children! whether are you "gone!"

The wife of Panteus, who was tall and ſtrong, girt her robe about her, and, in a ſilent and compoſed manner, paid the laſt offices to each woman that lay dead, winding up the bodies as well as her preſent circumſtances would admit. Laſt of all, ſhe prepared herſelf for the poinard, by letting down her robe about her, and adjuſting it in ſuch a manner as to need no aſſiſtance after death; then calling the executioner to do his office, and permitting no other perſon to approach her, ſhe fell like a heroine. In death ſhe retained all the decorum ſhe had preſerved

preserved in life; and the decency which had been so sacred with this excellent woman, still remained about her. Thus, in this bloody tragedy, wherein the women contended to the last for the prize of courage with the men, Lacedæmon shewed that *it is impossible for fortune to conquer virtue.*

A few days after, the soldiers who watc. d the body of Cleomenes on the cross *, saw a great snake winding about his head, and covering all his face, so that no bird of prey durst touch it. This struck the king with superstitious terrors, and made way for the women to try a variety of expiations; for Ptolemy was now persuaded that he had caused the death of a person who was a favourite of heaven, and something more than mortal. The Alexandrians crowded to the place, and called Cleomenes a hero, a son of the gods, till the philosophers put a stop to their devotions, by assuring them, that, as dead oxen breed bees †, horses, wasps ‡, and beetles rise out of the putrefaction of asses; so human carcases, when some of the moisture of the marrow is evaporated, and it comes to a thicker consistence, produce serpents ||. The ancients knowing this doctrine, appropriated the serpent, rather than any other animal, to heroes.

* That the friends of the deceased might not take it away by night. Thus we find in Petronius's Ephesian matron. *Miles qui cruces asservabat, ne quis ad sepulturam corpora detraheret:* And thus we find in an authority, we shall not mention at the same time with Petronius.

† This was the received opinion of antiquity, as we find in Varro, &c. &c.

‡ Pressus humo bellator equus crabonis origo. OVID

|| Sunt qui, cum clauso putrefacta est spina sepulchro;
Mutara credant humanas angue medullas. OVID

The above verses seem to be taken from some Greek lines of Archelaus, addressed to Ptolemy on the subject of serpents being generated from the corruption of the human body.

END OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.

MAHARAJA ...